



GOXE=
NO=
PHONS. TREA=
TISE OF
HOVSHOLDE

1534

TO THE READER.

This boke of householde, full of
hyghe wisedome, written by the noble
philosopher Xenophon, the scholer of
Socrates, the whiche for his swete e-
loquence, and incredible facilitie, was
surnamed Musa Attica, that is to say,
the songe of Athenes: is ryght coun-
nyly trāslated out of the greke tonge
into Englysshe, by Gentian Heruet at
the desire of mayster Greffrey Pole,
whiche boke for the welthe of this re-
alme, I deme very profitable to be red

Xenophons treatise of
huseholde.



Harde vpon atyme the
wyse Socrates com-
mune of the ordryng of
an house, speakynge to
one Critoþulus, after
this maner. Telle me
Critoþulus, is the or-
dringe of an house, the
name of a science, lykewyse as phisyke is,
and masons and carpenters crafte? So me
thinketh, sayd Critoþulus. Whether than
may we tel, what is the dutie, and the pro-
pre office, of the ordryng of an house, like
wise as we can tell of other craftes and sci-
ences? Ne thynketh, sayde Critoþulus,
it longeth to a good husbande, and a good
ordrer of an house, to guide wel and order
his owne house. But yet sayd So. If one
dryd put him in trust, and charge him to or-
der his house, coude not he order it as wel
as his owne, if he wolde? For he that hath
a carpenters crafte well, he can worke as
wel for an other, as he can for hym selfe, &
may not a good husband, wel expert in the
ordryng of an house, do lyke wyse? Ne
thynketh yes, good Socrates. Thanne a

All man

Xenophons treatise

man, sayde Socrates, that is well sene in that science, though he haue no substance, nor no goodes hym selfe, maye get his lyuyng, and haue good wages, if he wyll oder an other mans house, as wel as he that buyldeth an house. In good faythe, sayde Critobulus, he were worthy to haue very good wages, if he coulde take an other mans house in hande, and do euery thyng, that belōgeth to it, & make the hous better in goodes and in substaunce. But what do we meane by the house, whether is it nothing els but the bare house, or whether al maner of thynges, that a man hath oute of the house, be belonginge to the hous? Me chynketh, sayd Crito, that althoughe that, that a man hath, be not within the towne, where he dwelleth, but in the countrey, or any where els, that all doth belonge to the hous, what so ever a man hath. And be there not some men, that haue enmyes? Yes mery, & a gret meiny to. And shal we say, that their enmyes be their goodes or substance? By my feyth it were a mery icste, if he that hath caused vs to haue mo enmyes thā we had, wold haue a rewarde for it besyde, for bycause we haue iuged a mans house, and that that a man hath, to be alone. Ye but I do not accompte that amonge a mans substaunce

stance and goodes, that is nought and hurt
ful vnto him, but that that is good and pro-
fitable. Than, as farre as I se, ye cal that a
mans goodes and substaunce, that is profi-
table vnto hym: Y e mary do I, and suche
thinges as be hurtful, I cal them domages
and not goodes. And what if a man bye a
horse, that he can not ryde, but fall downe
from his backe, and so doo him selfe a dys-
pleasure, is not that horse his goodes? No
by my faye, seing those thinges be goodes
that be good. Nor the grounde than shall
not be called goodes vnto a man, the which
occupieth it so, that he hath damage by it.
Nor the ground shal not be called goodes,
if where that a man shoulde be founde and
norished by it, he dyeth for hungre. Than
it fareth lykewyse by shepe. If a man hath
any damage, by the reason that he can not
guyde them, nor order them as he shulde,
the shepe shall not be goodes vnto hym?
Se thynketh no. Than, as farre as it se-
meth by you, ye cal those thinges goodes,
that be profitable, and those thynges that
be hurtefull be no goodes? So me thyn-
keth. Than one selfe thyng shal be called
goodes vnto him that can vse it as he shuld,
z to hym that can not, it shalbe no goodes:
like wise as recorders be goodes vnto him

Alli that

Xenophons treatise
that can play on them somewhat according:
but vnto him that can not, they be no other
wise good thā stones, that be vnproufitable,
excepte a man do selle them. And soo lyke
wyse by the recorders, if we sel them, they
be good: but if we kepe them, and can not
occupie the, they be no goodes. We must
nedes agree in this tale, seing we haue said
afore, that those thynges, that be profitab-
le, be goodes. For the recorders, as long
as we kepe them vnsolde, they be no goo-
des, for they do vs no good: but if they be
sold, they be goodes. Ye mary, said So. if
one haue the wit to sel the wel. But if one
do sell them, that can not order hym selfe,
cuen whan they be al redy sold, they be no
goodes, according to your tale. ~~He~~ think-
keth ye saye syr Socr. that nor yet money
nothir is goodes, excepte a man can vse it.
So me thinketh, ye haue graunted alredy,
that those thynges be called goodes, that
a man getteth any profite by. But if a man
did bestowe his money vpon an harlot, and
that by the reason of dayelye conuersation
with her, his bodye were the weaker, his
soule the worse disposed, and his house the
worse kepte and ordered, howe shuld mos-
ney be profitable vnto hym? It can not be
in no case, excepte paradynture we wyll
call

call our goodes a poyson, the whiche whan
a man doth eate of it, it bringeth him out of
his witte. But as for money, frend Crito-
bulus, if a man can not vse it, as he shulde,
let him cast it away farre from him. For it
is nother profitable vnto hym, nor may be
called goodes. But as for frendes, if a man
can vse them, so that he get some profite of
them, what shal we say that they be? Goo-
des forsooth, sayd Crito. and moche more
than shepe or oxen, seinge they be a great
deale more profitable. Then, according to
your tale, our ennies lykewyse be goodes
vnto him, that can geat profite of them. So
me thinketh. And it is a point tha of a good
husbād, and a good ordre of an house, to
haue awaye, to vse his ennies so, that he
may get sonie profit by them. In any case.
For ye se wel inoughe, good Crito. howe
many mean mens houses, and howe many
lordes & kingis dominions haue ben increa-
sed and amplyned by the reason of warre.
Forsoth sy: So. me thinketh ye haue very
wel spoken in this matter, but what thinkes
you by this; whan that we se that som me,
which haue sciences, good wages, & good
properties, wherby they might make their
houses the better, if they wolde put them
self to it: yet we may wel se & pceiue, they

A.iii. woll

Xenophons treatise

woll not do it. And therfore we se, that the
sciēces & good propreties, that they haue,
auayle them nothyng: whether than shal
those sciences, that they haue, be accomted
for their goodes and substance, or for some
what els? Y e said Socra. me thynketh, ye
meane that, by bond men, and by some vile
persons. No by my feyth I: but I speake
of some of them, that be honest mens son-
nes and gentilmennes to, the whiche I se,
that some of them, that be experte bothe in
those thynges, that longe to warre, and al-
so to peace, yet they woll not put them sel-
fes to none of them. and me thinketh, they
shuld be in a better case, if they were bond
men. For I suppose, that they do not that
that they shuld, for bycause they lacke mai-
sters to putte them to it. Howe canne that
stande, sayde Socrates, that they haue no
maisters, whan that they desiring to liue in
welthe and felicitie, and mynded to do that
that wolde be for their profit: their lordes
and superiours do let them, that they shall
not do it. And what be they, sayde Crito-
bulus, that be inuisible, and yet ordre them
thus? Nay they be not all soo inuisible, no,
Iwys they be clere inoughe to euery mans
sight. And ye knowe well your selfe, they
be moste vngriatious and most mischeuous
of all,

of all, if slouthfulnes, sluggardise, lacke of stomache and quickenesse, lacke of talenge hede, and also negligence maye be take for vngratioufnes. And beside these, there be other deceitfull ladies, the whiche do come in vnder the colour & name of pleasures, playenge at dice and cardes, vnproufytal triflynge and kepynge company with vnthriftes, the whiche in proces of tyme do shewe playnlye vnto theyr adherentes, by them deceiued, that among plesures, there is somme wo and some sorowe myngled. These ladies kepe them so in seruage and thraldome, that they can not be suffred to do nothyng, that is for theyr profytte. Ye but there be some other, good Socra. the whiche haue no such, to let them from their busines, but rather applye them selfes wel fauordly to theyr busines, and seke and im-
ginal the waies possible to get them good with al: yet they do stroye them selfes, mi-
nishe their liuelode, & destroy their houses. And as concernyng to fynde any remedy, they be at their wittes endes. And they also, saide Socrates, be lyke wyse bonde-
men, as other be, and haue ouer them very
sore and cruell felowes to their maisters. Some of them be in the thraldome of glo-
tomy, some of licoroufnes, some of dronken-
nes,

Xenophons treatise

nes, some of vayne pryde, and costly vayne
glorye, the whiche kepe their subiectes so
sore in seruitude and bondage, that as long
as they se them yong and lustie, and able to
worke, they make them to bringe them all
that euer they can get, to bestowe it vpon
their lustis and pleasures. But whan they
perceyue, they be so old, that they can not
worke, then they let them alone with a mis
chiefe, to liue wretchedly in their old age,
and seke other, that they may bryngē into
their seruice lykewyse. But it behoueth
gentil Critobulus, to striue and fight with
them for our own libertie, none otherwise,
than we wolde with them, the whiche, with
naked swordes and weapons in their han
des, go about to bring vs in to thralldome &
seruytude. Enmyes, if that they be good
honest men, whan they haue brought some
men into their subiection, they cause many
to be moche better, teachyngē them to be
reuly and teperate, that afore wer to high
mynded and to fierce. But as for these la
dies, they neuer cesse, but be euermore pu
nishing, beatinge, and tormentinge the bo
dies, the soules, and the houses of thē that
they haue vnder: and that they do as longe
as they be their maistresses. Then Crito
bulus saide vnto hym after this maner. Is

for

for this matter me thinketh, I haue harde
you speke sufficiencely in it. And whan I
grope and serche wel my cōscience, I find,
that me thinketh, I can very well refraine
all maner of such thynges. Wherfore if ye
wil gyue me counsail, howe I maye do, to
encrease & make my hous better, I thinke,
I shall be nothinge let of them that ye call
ladyes. And therfore tell me with a good
wil, if ye haue any goodnes in this matter.
Or els ye thynke parauenture, that we be
ryche inoughe, and nede no more gnodes.
By my faith, saide Socrates, in dede, if ye
speake of me, I nede no more goodes, but
I am ryche inough. But as for you Crito-
bulus, me thinketh ye be very poore. And
by the feithe I owe to god, I haue some-
times gret pitie of you. Than Critobulus
laughinge saide: And I pray you for god-
dis sake, if al your goodes were sold, what
shulde ye haue for them? And what shulde
I haue for myne, if I wolde selle them?
I thynke, sayd Socrates, that if I myght
mete with a good byer, I shulde haue wel
for my house, and for all my goodes a.v. or
vi. marke. But as for yours, I know very
wel, that ye shulde haue an hundred tymes
more. And ye that knowe this, do ye think
your selfe, that ye lacke no more goodes,

and

Xenophons treatise

and haue pite of me, bicause of my pouerte.
For that that I haue is sufficient inough to
fynde me that that is necessary. But for to
meintain your state, and the worshyp, that
ye haue taken vpon you, me semeth, that if
ye had foure tymes as moche more, as ye
haue, it were not inoughe. And howe so,
sayd Critobulus? Than sayde Socrates:
Fyrste of all I se, that ye must nedes make
many feastis and many great bankettes, or
the people wyl skante abyde the sighte of
you. More ouer ye must receiue into your
houses many strangers, and intreate them
honorably, keping good hospitalitie. Fur-
thermore, ye must byd many men to dynner,
and do them some pleasure, or elles at your
nede, ye shal haue no manne to helpe you.
Moreouer, I perceiue, that the citie of A-
thenes beginneth to put you to many gret
charges, as to fynde horses, to helpe to
builde thinges longing to the cite, to make
musters of me, to cause goodly rageates to
be made, & goodly plaies to be plaide. But
if there come in war ones, I am sure, they
wyl haue so moche money frō you, what in
taxes, what in subsidies, and what in prea-
stis, that ye shall scant be able to beare it.
And if ye seme to paye somwhat lesse than
your power is, they woll punyse you as
sore,

sore, as though they had founde you robbing the common treasorie. Besyde this, I se that ye haue this opynion, that ye be riche, and that ye care not to get no more goodes, & that ye gyue your selfe to vaine and chyldishe pleasures, as ye may wel do, The whiche thynges do moue me to haue compassion of you, fearynge lest ye fal into some myssfortune, and into great pouertye without any remedye. And as for me, if I had nede, I trowe ye knowe very wel, that there be many, that wolde helpe me: in somoch that if they gaue me but euery man a littel, I shulde haue more than the degree of my liuing doth require. But as for your frendes, although they haue more to kepe them in their degré, thā ye haue for yours: yet they loke, that ye shulde helpe theym. Than sayde Crytobulus, I haue nothyng to say agaynst you in this matter: But it is time for you to instruct me with some good preceptes, to thintent that I be not so myserable in dede, that ye may haue compassion on me with a good cause. Than sayde Socrates: Do not ye thynke your selfe, that ye do a very strange, and a meruailous thyng, that but a praty whyle ago, whan I sayde, that I was riche, ye lough at me, as though I knew not what riches mened,

and

Xenophons treatise

and never stinted, til ye had put me to a rebuke, and made me to confesse, that I had not the hūdreh part of that, that ye haue, and nowe ye byd me to instructe you, and set my diligence, that ye be not poore in very dede. For I se wel good So. sayd Cristobulus, that ye haue in you the caste, to make a man ryche in dede, that is to make him haue plentie and abundaunce. And I truste, he that of a littel thing can make plētie and abundaunce, shall do it moche more lightlier of many great thynges.

Be ye not remembred of our comuning a praty while ago, whan I coude in no case contrary your sayinge, that to him that can not vse horses, horses be no goodes vnto hym, nor lande, nor shepe, nor money, nor nothing els, and yet of such thinges a man may get great profite and vantage? But as for me, how do ye thinke, that I can vse or order suche thinges, that had never none? But me thought, that although a man had nother money, nor goodes, yet there was a certaine science of gyding and ordring of an house. And what letteth you, that ye may not haue the same science? Loke what doth let a man to playe vpon recorders, if nother he had never none him selfe, nor borrowed none of no body: the selfe same impedes

pedimēt haue I in the ordring of an hous.
For I never had nother instrumētes, that
is goodes and money of min owne, to lerne
by it, nor there was never no bodye, that
charged me with his goodes to ouerse the
or to ordre them, except ye parauenture be
disposed to do. But ye knowe well, that
they that lerne first to play vpon an harpe,
they spyll the harpe: So if I shulde nowe
lerne on your household, howe to kepe an
house, I am a ferde, lest I shulde destroye
your house. Iha, ye go aboute very busyly
and redily to auoide, that ye wol not helpe
me to beare, and susteyne with me parte of
my busines. Be my faye, that do I not: I
woll be glad with all myne harte, to shewe
you all that euer I can. But I thinke this
that if ye came to my house for some fyre,
and I had none, if I brought you to an o=

ther place, where ye myghte haue some, ye
wolde not be displeased with me. And if
ye came, and asked me water, and I hadde
none, if I brought you into a place, where
ye myghte drawe some, ye could not blame
me. And if ye wolde, that I shulde teache
you musicke, if I did shew you other men,
more expert in it, than I am my selfe, and
that wolde be gladde and fayne to teache
you, what coulde ye blame me, if I dyd so:

I coulde

Xenophons treatise

I coude not do it with a good cause. Therfore I will shewe you, that these thynges, which ye desire so instatly of me, that there be other men more counning, and more experte in them than I am. And this I grāt you, that I haue hadde a greate mynde to knowe, which were the moste counnyng, and the mooste experte in all the citie. For whan I did sometyme considre, that in one worke, one busines, and one thyng doinge - some waxed very poore, and somme verye riche, I marueiled, and me thought, it was a thyng to be well consydered, howe that shuld be. And thus consideryng, I found, that this happened none otherwyse, then the thyng it selfe and reason wolde. For I sawe, that they that behaued them selfes rasshely in theyr busines, had damage and losse by it: and they, that with discretion, witte, and good aduisement applied theyr busynes, broughte theyr mattiers to passe more quickly, more easly, and with more auantage. Of the whiche I thinke that ye may lerne, & so by the grace of god, come to be a very ryche man, with moche wynning and lucre. Nowe by my feyth I wryll never let you be in reste, vntyl the tyme ye shewe afore these frēdes of yours, that ye speake of, that that ye haue promyfed me.

But

of householde.

9

But what wolde ye saye, if I bydde shewe
you some men, the whiche haue builded for
verye moche money, vnproufitable houses,
without any good cast, or any good cōmo-
ditie: and other that for lesse coste a great
dele, haue made houses, lackynge nothing
that longeth to an house, wylle ye not saye,
that I do shewe you a point of a good or-
der of an house? Yes veryly sayde Crito-
bulus. what if I shewe you next and accor-
dynge to the same, that some men haue mo-
che householde stuffe, and of all sortes, and
whā they haue nede of it, they can not vse
it, but it is to seche, and they can not telle
whether it be lost or saue leide vp: And for
this cause they be wonderslye greued in
their mindes, and vexe & trouble their ser-
uantes and nothinge elles. And also other
men, the whiche haue no more, but rather
lesse, haue euery thing redy at hand, whan
they haue nede of it. What shulde be the
cause of it, gentil Socra. but that the tōne
doth caste asyde euery thyng folysshelye,
without any order: and the tother layth vp
euery thyng in his place? There ye saide
wel, said Soc. And he not only setteth es-
uery thyng in his place, but also in suche a
place as is mete and conuenient to set it in.
We semeth, sayde Crito, that ye say, that

B this

Xenophons treatise

this also is a pointe of a good ordrer of an hous. And what if I shew you, that in one place all the bondemen and seruauntes be tyed faste, and yet they runne awaye often tymes: and in an other place they be losed, wyllyng to abyde and labour with al theyr hartes, wil ye not thinke this a good pointe of a housekeper, worthy to be loked vpon? Yes mary, said Critobulus, & very worthy to be loked vpon. And what if I shewe you housebande men, of the whiche some complayntie and saye, that they dye for hunger, for all theyr housebandry, and somme that haue plentie, of al maner of thinges necessary, by the reason of their housebandrye. Ye mary, saide Critobulus, paraduenture they bestowe their money & their goodes, not wher they shuld, but in suche thynges as be hurtefull both to them and to their houses. In dede there be some suche sayde Socra, but I do not speke of them, but of those, the whiche cal them selfe housebande men, & yet they can scant get their meate & their drinke. And what shulde be the cause of this gentill Soc. I will bringe you vnto them, said Soc. and whan ye se them, than shall ye lerne. Mary that wyl I, if that I can. Ye but first ye must proue your selfe, if ye shalbe able to knowe it, whan ye se thes.

It

It cometh into my mynde nowe, that ye wold rise very early, and go a great way, to se enterludes played, & that ye wold intent me needes to go with you, but ye never bad me to such a sight. Thā ye thinke, mine owne Soc. that I am worthye to be laughed to scorne of you. Ye but of your selfe moche more. But what if I do shewe you some men, the which by the reason of keping of horses, haue ben brought to extreme pouerte, & other, the which by the reason of it, haue made theym selues ryche men, and haue gotten so gret substāce, that they liue lyke lordes? I haue seene theim, and I knowe them both, but I haue never the more vantage for that. The cause of it is, that ye beholde them lyke wyse, as ye loke vpon the plaiers of enterludes, not to thintēt that ye may be a poete, but for a pastime & a recreation. And parauēture ye do well in that, for ye be not mynded to be a poete, but where ye be cōpelled to kepe & fynde horses, wyl ye not iudge your selfe a foole, if ye go not about to studye a remeedy, that ye be not ignoraunt in that behalfe, seinge that the selfe same thynges be good to the rse, and profitable to be solde? Your mynde is that I shuld breke horses? Noo by my saythe it, no more thanne if ye wold

B ii haue

Xenophons treatise

haue a good laborer, I wold giue you coul-
sel to bringe him vp of a childe. But there
be ages both of horses and of men, the whis-
che be immediately profitable, and do day-
ly so growe, that they doo more good one
daye than an other. Furthermore I canne
shew you some men, the which haue so vsed
and ordred their wiues, that they comfort
them and helpe them toward the increasing
of their house: and some that haue such
wiues, the which destroy vtterly thehous,
and so the moste parte of men haue. But
who is to be blamed for this, the husebāde
or the wyfe, good Socrates? Alshepe, if
it do not well, for the moste parte we doo
blame the sheperde. And a horse most cō-
monly, if he be skittishe, and do some diskle-
sure, we blame the breker. And a wyfe like
wise, if her housebande teache her well, if
she do not folowe it, she is parauenture to
blame. But if he do not teache her, if she be
rude, vnewomanly, and wytles, is not he to
be blamed? Yes by my faithe, sayde Crito.
And seeing that we be frendes, z may speke
plainly betwene our selues, Is there euer
any other wyse man, that ye trust z charge
soo moche in your busines, as ye doo your
wyfe? No forsooth, sayde he. And is there
any, that ye compyne lesse with, then ye do
with

with her? No by my fayth, and if there be any, they be very fewe. Yc maried her very yonge, whan she hadde nother sene nor harde moche of the worlde. Wherfore it wer more to be marueiled at, if she knew and did as she shuld, than if she dyd amysse. Crito. They, the whiche ye saye, haue good wyues, haue they taught them so indeed? Socrates. It is a thing not to stand long vpon. For I wyl bryng you my wyfe Aspasia, the which shal shewe you all this better than I my selfe. But me thynketh, that a wife, beinge a good companion, and a good felowe to her husbād in a house, is very necessary, and within a lyttel as moch worthē as the housebande. For commonly goodes & substance do come into the house by the labour and peine of the man, but the woman is she for the moste parte, that keepeth and bestoweth it, where nede is. And if these two thynges stande well together, and be well ordeyned, the houses doo increace, if not, they muste nedes decaye.

Moreover me thinketh, that I can shewe you in al sciences them, that do worke and labour, accordyng as they shoulde, if ye thynde that it nedeth. But what nede you to reherse them all good Socrates, sayde Crito. For it is nother possible for a

B iii man

Xenophons treatise
man to haue workemen of all faculties, suc-
che as shulde be, nor him selfe to be expert
in al. But as for suche sciences, as be moste
honourable, and maye become me well to
occupie them, them I wolde ye dyd shewe
me, and also those men, the whiche applye
them selfes vnto them. And ye of your side
helpe to teache me, and further me in them
as moche as ye can. Ye speake verye well
riende Critobulus, sayde Socrates. For
suche craftes, as be called handy craftes,
they be very abiecte and vile, and lyttel re-
garded and esteemed in cities and common
welthes: For they do destroye the bodies
of those, that do occupie them, whan they
make them to sytt euermore at home, and
to be fedde vppre alwaye in the shade, and
some make them to stande all the daye sta-
rynge on the fyre. And whan the bodye is
ones tender and feble, the stomake and spi-
rite muste nedes ware a greate deale the
weaker. And agarne, they haue smale ley-
sure to settē theri mynde and dylgence to
doo their friendes any good, nor also the
common welthe. Wherfore such men seme
to be but a small conforte to their friendes
at a nede, nor no good menne to succoure
theyr countrey in tyme of ioperdy. And
for a suertie, in some cities and common
welthes,

welthes, and specially suche as be dayly in
warre, it is not laufull to neuer a cytesen to
occupie no handy crafte. And what facul-
ties wyll ye counsaylle me to vse, gentille
Socrates? Socrates. Let not vs thynke
scorne, nor be ashamed to folowe the kyng
of the Persis. For they saye, that he, sup-
posinge the science of warre, and also of
housebandry to be moste honourable, and
also necessary among other faculties, doth
regarde and exercysē theym wondersly.

And whan Critobulus harde that, he said:
Do ye thynke, that the kyng of Persia ca-
rēth any thyngē for housebandry? If we
consyder it after this maner, saide Socras-
tes, we shall paraduenture come to know-
ledge, whether he dothe or not. For every
manne graunteth, that he setteth sore his
study vpon suchē thynges, as long to war.
For it is appoynted to euery lieutenaunte
and lordes of the countreis vnderneath him,
howe many men of armes, morispikes, bil-
les, archers, and crosebowes, they shall
haue redy in theyr wages, eyther to kepe
his subiectes from rebellion for feare, or to
kepe the countrey, if enmyes do inuade it.
Besyde these, he layeth garisons in all the
towres and castels, and there is a capitayn
apointed to pay them truely theyr wages.

Xenophons treatise

and to se that there be no faulfe in it. And the king causeth euery twelvemonthe the musters to be made of al the that be in his wages, and be apointed to be redy in harness at any tyme, and so bryngeth them all together, those referuced that be in garrisōs into a place, that they cal the place of congregacion. And suchē as he nighē his manour and his dwellynge place, be ouerlo-
keth them him selfe. But they that dwel in farre countreyō, he sendeth thyther some that he trusteth best, to haue the ouersight of them. And those heedes, rulers, and ca-
pitaines, whether they haue many or fewe vnder them, if they brynge forth they: full nombrē, that is apointed vnto them, well harneised, and well horsed, and well furni-
shed of al maner of thinges, he giueth very great praise and honour to the lieutenātes and to the lordes, and giueth them many great giftes and rewardes, so that they be riche for euer. But whan he fyndeth, that his lordes, his lieutenauntes, and deputies haue no regarde to the capitaines of his soudiours, but catchē and pul, and care but only for their owne vantage, he punisheth the sore, he putteth the out of their officis and setteth other in their stede. In doinge those thinges, there is no man that douteth but

but that he applieth his minde and his stu-
dy very sore to warre. But beside this, all
the cuntrey, that is therby, where he dwel-
leth, he rydeth aboute hym selfe, takynge
hede and markynge howe it is tyllled and
laboured. But whan a countrey is so farre
of, that he can not com to se it hym selfe, he
sendeth them, that he trusteth best, to ouer-
se it. And whan he fyndeth, that his lieute-
nantes and deputies do kepe the countrey
wel inhabited, the ground wel plowed and
laboured, ful of such trees as the countrey
wyll beare, he promoteth them to the rule
of more countres, he geueth the gret pre-
sente, and dothe them great honour. But
whan he fyndeth the countrey desert and vn-
habited, the grounde vntilled and vnlabou-
red, bycause of their negligence, wronges
doing, extorsions, & cruelties, he punisheth
them, he putteth them out of their offices,
and setteth other in their rowmes. In do-
ing these thinges, do ye thynde, that he set-
teth lesse his minde to haue his countrey wel
replenysched of dwellers, and well tyllled
and laboured, then that souldiours shulde
defende it well? Moreouer, of the lieute-
nantes and deputies, that he hath, One
man hath not the charge of two thinges at
ones. For some of therm be appointed to

B. v. haue

Xenophons treatise

haue the ouersyght of the housbande men
and labourers , and to gether tythes and
tributes of them. And there be other, that
haue the oversighte of the souldiours, and
of the garrisons. And if the lyeutenaunt of
the garison do not his duete, in keping and
defendyng the countrey, he that is the lieu-
tenaunte of the husbande men and labou-
ters, accuseth the tother lyeutenaunt, that
they can not plye their worke for lacke of
good defence . But if the lieutenaunte of
the garyson dothe his duetie , and kepeth
the countre in peace, so that they may work
at theyr pleasure, and the lieutenant of the
housband men doth not se to the countrey,
that it be well inhabited, and that the hous-
bande menne applye theyr worke as they
shulde, than the lieutenaunt of the garison
accuseth him againe. For whan the house-
bande men do not labour well, the souldi-
ours can scant gette vitayles, nor the king
can haue his tribute. And in somme coun-
tryes of Persia, a great lord, that they cal
Satrapa, occupieth the rowme of bothe
lyeutenauntes. Than spake Critoibus,
and sayde : If the kynge dothe, as ye saye,
he taketh as moch hede to housbandry, as
he doth to warre. Soc. Morover, in what
so ever countrey he lieth, and where so euer
he

he maketh his abydyng, he settethe his
mynde to haue goodlye fayre gardeynes,
that they call in theyr tongue Paradise, full
of all maner of thynges, that the earthe
bryngethe forthe. And there he bydeth
for the mooste parte, as longe as the tyme
of the yere doth not let hym

Than by my faythe, sayde Crito=bulus, se-
inge that he bideth there him selfe, he must
nedes do his diligēce, that these gardeines
maye be as farre and as goodly as can be,
well replenyſſhed with trees, and all ma-
ner of thynges, that the earth can bryngē
forthe. And also some saye, good Crito=bulus,
sayd Socrates, that whan the king
gyueth any rewardes, that he calleth them
fyſte, that haue behaued them selfes man-
ly in the warres, bycause it were to none
effecte, to tyll and labour the grounde, ex-
cept there were some, that shuld defend it.
And nexte to theim he calleth those, that
haue prouided, that the countrey shuld not
be rydell, but well occupied and laboured,
saying, that the valiant men of warre coud
not lyue, if the good labourers were not.
And they say, that Cyrus, the whiche hath
ben a very famous, and an excellent kynge,
sayd vpon a tyme vnto them, that he called
vnto hym, to gyue them rewardes, that he
hym

Xenophons treatise

hym selfe was well worthy to haue the rewardes of them bothe. For he sayde, that he was very good boþ to se the countrey wel laboured, and also to kepe ȝ defend it. Forsoþe, sayde Critoþulus, if Cyrus dyd say so, he dyd shew playnly, that he had as great pleasure, that the countrey shuld be well occupied, as to haue good meþ of war. Soc. By my faith, if Cyrus had lyued, he wold haue proued a very noble prince: and of that he shewed many great and evident tokens at dyuers tymes, and amonge the roþer, whan he came forþe agaynste his brother, to trye by battayle, who shuld be kynge. For they saye, that frenm Cyrus no man fled to the kyng, but many thousandes lefte the kyng to come and serue Cyrus. And me thinketh this is a great argument of a princis vertue, whan men do obey him with theyr owne good wyl, and be glad to abyde with hym in tyme of ieopardy. For Cyrus friendes stode fightryng about hym whiles he was yet alyue, and whan he was slayne, they fightryng most valiantly were slaine al beside him, excepte Arius, the whiche was set in the left winge. This gentil Cyrus, whan Lysander came to him, to bringe him presetes fro the cites of Grece confederated vnto him, they saye, as Lysander

Sander shewed hym selfe to a friende of his
in the towne of Negara, that he receyued
him with moch humanite, and amōg other
thynges he shewed hym a garderne that
was called the Paradis of Sardis. But whā
Lysander began to maruaile at it, bycause
the trees were so fayre and so egally sette,
and the orders of the trees laye streyghte
one agaynst an other, and made goodly an-
gles ȝ corners wel proportioned, and ma-
ny swete ȝ pleasaunt sauours came to their
noses, whan they were walkyng, he wons-
drynge therupon sayde thus: Forsoth Lys-
rus, the gret beautifulnes of these thinges
is a greate maruayle to me, but I wonder
moch more of him, that hath measured and
set them thus in order. Than Cyrus, whan
he harde this, did rejoyce and say: Al these
that ye se, I haue measured them, and sette
them in order, and I can shewe you some
trees, that I haue set with myne owne hā-
des. And Lysander when he had loked v-
pon hym, ȝ beholden his goodly apparail,
and felte the good sauour that came from it,
and the estimable fayrenesse of his golden
charnes, his rynges, and his precious sto-
nes, sayde: What saye ye Cyrus, haue ye
sette any of these with your owne handes?
Than Cyrus aunswere. Do ye meruayle
of

Xenophons treatise
of this Lysander: By the faythe that I
owe to god, whan I am well at ease, I ne-
uer go to dinner, vnto the time I haue done
somewhat, eyther in feates of armes, or in
some poynte of housebandry, tyl I sweate.
Than, whan Lysander herd this, he toke
hym by the hande and sayd: Me thynketh
Cyrus, ye be fortunate not without a cause
For ye be fortunate beinge a good man.

And this I reherse vnto you myne owne
Critoibus, said Socrates, for this cause,
that ye may se, that they that be ryche and
fortunate, can not well kepe theym frome
housebandry. For it is suche an exercyse,
and suche a busines, that a man maye haue
pleasure in it, bothe to encrease and mul-
tipli his goodes, and also to exercyse the
bodye so, that it shall be able to doo all
maner of thynges that belongeth to an ho-
neste manne to doo. For fyriste of all, the
grounde bryngethe forthe all suche maner
of thynges, that a manne is fed and nou-
ryshed with, and it bryngeth forthe also
suche thynges, that a man maye haue plea-
sure by it. Moreouer, it gyueth vs all
suche thynges, as we nede, to trymmie and
dressie the auters and ymages withall, and
that with mooste pleasaunte syghtes and sa-
uours. Furthermore, of meates necessary
for

for mannes vse, somme it bryngethe by hit selfe, and some it nourisheth. For the craft of kepyng of sheepe is annexed to housebandry, soo that we maye vse them at our owne pleasure. And though it gryueth vs plentye of all maner of thynges, yet it doth not suffre vs together them with softenes and tendernes, but vseth vs to be hard and stronge, in wynter by the reasonne of the colde, and in sommer by the reason of the heate. And as for them, the whiche do labour with their owne handes, it makethe theym by gge and myghtye, and they that occupy housebandrye but onely with ouer lokynge and takynge hede to other mens warkes, it quickeneth and maketh theym lyke men, makyng them to ryse yarely in the mornynge, and causyng them to walke a great waye. For bothe in the fieldes and also in the cities, every thyng that a man dothe to any purpose, must nedes be done in tyme and in season. Moreouer, if he wyl be a horseman, and defend his countre on horsebacke, a horse maye no where be better fedde than in the countreye. And if he wyll be a foteman, housebandrie maketh a man strong bodied, and causeth hym to exercise hym selfe goinge a huntyng, whanit gryueth lyghtly meate to the dogges, and the

Xenophons treatise

the grounde brin geth vp and nouryssheth
wylde beastes. And the horses, and lyke
wyse the dogges, thus holpen by the way
of hushādry, do againe some seruice to the
grounde. For the horse beareth hym yerly
in the mornyng, that wyll se the grounde
be not let alone vntilled & vntrymmed, and
at nyghte beareth hym home agayne, if he
tary never so late. And the dogges kepe a
waye wylde beastis, that they spyl not the
fruite, and kylle the shepe, and make a man
to be sure in a wylernes. More ouer, hit
comforteth and stirreth husband men to be
bolde, and to stande manly to defend theyr
cōtre, seing it leaueth the fruited abrode
in the playne to be vsurped of him that is
stronger. And what facultie wyll make a
man more apte to runne, to shote, and also
to leape, than husbandrye? What science
yeldeth more again to thē that do labour?
What sciēce receiueth him, that is studi-
ous with greater pleasure, seing whan he
cometh, it gyueth hym leauē to take what
he wyll? Where shal a straunger be better
welcomed to make hym good chere? wher
shal a man haue better commoditie to kepe
his winter with fire inoughe and hotte ba-
thes? And where is more pleasant dwel-
lynge for goodly waters, gentyll wyrdes,
and

and shadowe, than in the fieldes? Where
maye a man make better feastis, and more
triumphant bankettes? What other place The preise
do seruantes loue better? What other place of husban-
doth a wife lyke more? Where do children dype.
desire more to be? Where be frendes bet-
ter receyued, and gladder to be? For soth
me thinketh it a maruailous thinge, if any
honest man can fynde any substance, that he
delyteth more in, or if he can fynde any oc-
cupation outhir more pleasaunte than this
is, or more profitable for his liuyng. And
moreouer, the grounde teacheth men Ju-
stice, if they haue the witte to lerne it. For
they that do for it, and haue care for it, it
rewardeth them, with farre moche more.
And if they, that haue benbrought vppe in
housebādry, by some sodeine chance of en-
myes, they that be lordes of the countrey
can not tyll the grounde, they may go into
theyr enmyes countreis, seyng they haue
ben well and hardly brought vp, and gette
there as moche, if god be not against them,
as wyll suffice them to lyue with. And it is
often times more sure to seke for his living
in time of warre, with weapons of warre,
than with instrumentes of housebandrye.

Housbandry also teacheth men to helpe
one an other. If we wyll go to warre, we

L must

Xenophons treatise

must haue men, nor the grounde can not be laboured without menne. And therfore he that will be a good housband man, he must get him good lusty worke men, and willing to do after hym and obeye hym. And the selfe same thyng he must go about to bring to passe, that leadeth an army to fyghte agaynst his enmies, giuing great rewardes vnto them, that behaue the selfes like good valiant men, and punyshethe them that be storne, and wyl not be ordred. And he that is a good houseband, must as often tymes calvpon his labourers, and comfort them, as the capitaine doth his souldiours. And bounde men haue as great nede to be comforted, and meintained with good hope, as other fre men, ye 2 rather more, to thende they run not away, but be glad to bide stil. And surely he sayde very well, that called housbādry the mother and the nourice of al other sciences. For if housbandry doth stand well, all other sciences and facultyes do the better. But if the grouē be barain, and can haere no fruite, all other sciences be almost spilted bothe by see and by land.

Whan Critobulus hadde harde this, he spake after this maner. Me thiketh, good Socrat. ye speke very well in this matter. But ye knowe very wel, that the most part of

of such thinges, as long to housebandry, a man can not caste theym afore hande. For oftentimes hayle stones, drought, or continuall rayne, myste, or vermyne, that eate vp the sede that is in the ground, do put vs beside our intent and purpose, if it were neuer so good. And shepe like wise, if they be in neuer so good pasture, there comethe a sickenes, that destroyeth them all. Socra. whan he hard that, sayd againe. I thought that ye knewe wel, that god is aboue al, as wel in housebandry, as he is in warre. We se, that they that wil make war, afore they begynne, they make their vowes, prayers, and sacryfices, desyryng to knowe, what is beste to do, and what is not beste. And thynke ye, that in those thynges, that long to housebandry, we shuld haue les recourse to god? Be ye sure of this, that good and honest men do worship almighty god with oblations, and praiers, for al theyr fruities, their oxen, theyr shepe, and theyr horses, and generally for all that they haue. He thinketh good Socra. sayde Critobu. that ye speake very wel in this matter, whan ye byd to begin euery thyng with the trust of the helpe, and of the grace of god, seinge that god is aboue al thinges, as wel in war as in peace. And therfore we wil endeavour

Xenophons treatise

vs to do so. But seinge your purpose was,
to speake here of the ordryng of an house,
the which ye haue left, and be entred into
an other tale, endeuour your selfe to shew
vs a lyttell more, what foloweth next. For
nowe that I haue harde you say, that that
ye haue spoken, me semeth I se moch bet-
ter than afore, what a man muste do for to
lyue. Wherfore Socrates sayde : But wil
ye, that we reherse all that we haue spoken
afore, and agreed in, to thentente that we
maye, if we can, go forthe in this matter,
bringynge such thyng as we shal lyke wyse
agre vpon ? We thynketh that lyke wyse,
as it wolde be a great pleasure, whan two
men haue lente moneye one to an other, to
agree vpon the rekenyng: So nowe in our
comunication, vtterynge our myndes one
to an other, if we myght gree in one tale.
Wel than, said Socrates, we agreed vpon
this, that the ordryng of an house is the
name of a science, and that semeth to be the
science, to order and increace the house.
And we toke the house for al a man's posses-
sions and goodes. And we sayd, that was
truely the possession and goodes of a man,
the which was profitable vnto hym for his
lyuyng, and we founde all that profitable,
that a man coude vse and order. And ther-
fore

fore we thought impossible for a manne, to
lerne all maner of sciences. And as for all
the handye craftes, we thought best to ex-
pelle them from vs, lyke wise as many cy-
ties and common welthes dyd. For they
seme both to destroye a mannes body, and
to breake a mannes hart and stomake. And
hereof, we sayd, that this myght be an eui-
dente token. For if the enmyes did inuade
the countreyes, and one dyd set the house-
band men and the artificers a syde, diuided
in two partes, and asked them, whether
they had leuer to come forth and pitch the
fielde to fyght with their enmyes, orels to
gyue vp the fielde, and kepe and defende
the cities: They that haue ben vsed in the
fielde and housebādry, would be glad to
fyght, to deliuer the countrey. But on the
other syde, the artificers wolde doo that
that they haue ben brought vp in, that is to
sytte styll, never labouryng, nor never
puttyng them selfes in piceace, nor in ieo-
pardy. Moreouer we commended house-
bandry for a good exercise and a good oc-
cupation for a good and an honest man, by
the whiche men may haue all that is neces-
sarie for them. For it is an occupation ve-
ry sone lerned, and very pleasant to be oc-
cupied in it: the whiche also maketh a mans

Xenophons treatise
body myghtye, stronge, well complextio-
ned, and wel fauoured, his stomake and his
spiryte to be alway lusty and redy to do for
his friendes, and for his countreye.

Wsy huse: Moreouer, we iudged that it gaue men
bandye is harte and courage to be valiant and hardy,
moste vso- seing the fruites, that the ground brought
nourable, forth, lay abrode in the plaine, without trē-
ches, bulwarkes, or fortresses. And ther-
fore that kynd of lyuinge seemed to be most
honorable, and beste esteemed in cities and
common welthes, because it maketh good
men, well disposed, and well mynded to do
good for the common welthe.

Than sayde Critobulus, I am after my
mynde sufficiently perswaded, that a man
maye haue a very good, an honeste, and a
pleasant lyuynge in occupiengh houseban-
dry. But where ye sayde, that ye knewe
the cause, that some dyd so vse and occupy
housebandrye, that they had by it plentye
of all maner of thynges, that they neded:
and some agayne, that so ordred them sel-
fes in it, that it auayled them nothing, these
two thynges wolde I gladly here of you,
to thentent we maye do that that is good,
and eschewe that that is contrary.

But what if I do tel you swete Critobu-
sayd Socrates, euen from the beginnyng,
what

what comunicaciō I had ones with a man,
the whiche myghte be called truely and in
dede a good honest man? That woulde I
here very fayne, sayde Critobulus. For I
my selfe do greatly desire, that I maye be
worthy of that goodly name. Than wyll
I tell you, howe I came fyſte to the con-
ſideration of this. For as touchyng good
carpenters, good ioyners, good peynters,
good ymagers, me thought that I myght
in a littel time ſe and beholde their warkes
moſt allowed and beſt accepted, that made
them to be ſo called. But to thend I might
ſe and beholde, howe they that hadde that
goodly and honorable name of a good and
an honeste man, dyd behaue them ſelfes to
be worthy of it, my mynde dydde coueyte
greatly to talke with one of theym. And
fyſte of all for bycause good and honeste,
wente to gether, whan ſo euer I ſawc any
goodly man, I drewe to hym, and wente
about to know of hym, if I myght ſe good
and honest, in a goodly man. But it wolde
not be. For me thoughte that I founde,
that there were many with goodly bodies
and fayre viſages, that had but yuel dispos-
ſed and vngratious ſowles.

Thā me thought it beſt, to enquere no fur-
ther of goodli bodies, but to get me to one

Xenophons treatise

of them that were called good and honest men. And for bycause I harde, that Ischomachus was generally, bothe of men, women, citezins, and strangers, called and taken for a good honest man, me thoughte I coude do no better, than to proue howe I myghte commune with hym. And vpon a tyme, whan I sawe hym sitting in a porche of a churche, for bycause me thoughte he was at leyser, I came to hym, and sette me downe by him, and said: What is the cause good Ischomachus, that ye, which be wōt to be euer more occupied, sytte here nowe after this maner, for I haue seene you for the most part, euermore doing somewhat, and lyghtly never ydell, except it were very lyttell? Nor yeshulde nowe haue seene me good Socrates, sayde he, syttinge after this maner, if I had not apointed with certaine straungers to tary here for them. And if ye were not here, where wolde ye haue bene, or howe wolde ye haue ben occupied, sayd I to hym? For I wold knowe of you very farne, what thyngē ye do, that maketh you to be called a good and an honest man? The good complection of your body sheweth well ynoughe, that ye byde not alwaye slouggynge at home. And than Ischomachus laughing at that that I said,
what

what do ye, that maketh you to be called a good and an honest man, and reioysyng in his harte, as me thought by hym, sayd: I can not tell, if any man calleth me so, whan you and he talke of me, but whan I muste paye money, or for taxes, preastes, or subsidies, they calle me playnely by my name Ischomachus. And in dede good Socr. I do not alwaye byde at home, for my wife can order well inoughe suche thynges as I haue there. Yea but this wold I knowe of you very fayne, Dyd ye your selfe bring your wyfe to this: or els hadde her father and her mother brought her vp, sufficiently to ordre an house afore she came to you? Ischomachus. Howe coude she haue ben so, whan she was butiftene yere old, whā I maryed her: and afore she hadde ben so negligently brought vp, that she hadde but very lyttell sene, very little harde, and very lytel spoken of the world. And I trowe ye wolde not thynke it sufficiente in her, if she coude do nothyng but spin and carde, and sette the hande maydens to worke. As for suche thynges, as concerne the lower partes of the bely, good Socrates, sayde he, she had ben very wellbroughte vp, the whiche is no smalle poynte of good bringynge vp, both in a man and in a woman.

L.V.

And

Xenophons treatise

And dyd ye teache your wyfe al the reme-
nant, sayd I, so that she is able to take hede
of al maner of thinges? Yes, said he, but not
afore I had made my priers to all mighty
god, desirynge him, that he wold gyue me
the grace, to teache her so, and her to lerne
that of me, that shuld be good & profitable
to vs bothe. And dyd your wyfe make
the selfe same prayer with you, sayde I?
Yes mary, said Ischomachus, and it semed
in a maner, that god dyd promyse euidētly,
and she likewise shewed with clere and ma-
nifeste tokens, that she wold very well re-
garde and take hede to that that she shulde
be taught. For goddis sake good Ischo-
machus, sayde I, what dyd ye begynne to
teache her first: for I had leauer here you
tell me suche a thyng, than if ye shuld dy-
scriue me a iustyng or a tournament, though
it had ben never so triumphant: Mary I
wyl tel you Socrates, said he. Whan we
were ones so wel acquainted, & so familiar,
that we talked together, I examined her
after this maner. Tel me good bedfelowe,
did ye euer cast in your mid, for what cause
I haue taken you, and your father & your
mother deliuered you vnto me? I trowe
ye knowe well inough, that I toke you not
for nede, that I had of a bedfelowe, to lye
with

with me, for I myghte haue had inowre at my commaundemente. But whan I hadde consydered in my mynde, and your father and your mother lyke wyse, that it were well doone, to fynde out a good one, to be partetaker bothe of our howse, and of our chyldren, I chose you afore all other, and your father and mother lyke wyse chose me. Wherfore if hereafter god gyue vs the grace, that we maye haue chyldren together, we shall take counsayle, howe to bryng them uppe and instructe them in vertue. For it shall be for bothe oure profittes to haue them, bothe to defende vs, and to helpe and nouryshe vs in our olde age. Nowe the house that we haue, is common to vs bothe. For all that euer I haue, I haue shewed you, and delyuered it vnto you to kepe for bothe our behoues: and ye lyke wise haue done the same. And ye may not cast in your mynde, whiche of vs both broughte more. But this ye muste knowe for a suertie, that loke whiche of vs twayne doth behaue hym selfe, and dothe beste in this felowshyppe, that he bryngeth more, and his parte is the better.

Than my wyfe, good Socrates, answered here vnto after this maner. wherin can I helpe you, said she: or wherin may my littel power

A good
lesson for
a wyfe.

Xenophons treatise

power do you any good? For truly my mo-
ther tolde me, that al to gether lay in your
handes, and that it belonged vnto me, to be
sobre and lyue in chastitie. Mary soo it is
good wyfe, sayd I, and so my father tolde
me to. But it is the poynt of a sobre house-
bande, and of a sobre wyfe, to do soo, that
that the whiche they haue, may be wel or-
dred and guyded, and to encrease and get
more to it, by some good and rightful way.
And what do ye see in me, sayde my wyfe,
that I may encrease our house, if I do ap-
plie it? Mary, sayd I, if ye endeavour your
self to do those thinges to the best of your
power, the whiche both god willeth, that
ye shulde do, and the lawe exhortethe you
to it. And what thinges be those sayd she?
Veryly, sayd I, no small thynges, excepte
ye thynde, that that Bee doth but a lyttell
good, the which remaineth stil in the huue,
to ouer see the warkes, whan the other go
abrode to gether floures. And forsooth me
thyndeth, that god almyghty hath sette to
gether for many good causes and consyde-
rations, that goodlye couple, that is the
housbande and the wyfe, to thentent that
they shuld be mosse profitable one to an o-
ther in that good feloweshyp. Fyrste of all
to thentent that mankynde do not decay &
fayle,

whp wed-
socke was
or depyned.

faile, this ioly couple lieth together and ingendreth chyldren. Than agayne, by reason hereof, they bringe forthe chyldren to helpe and succour them in theyr olde age. Moreouer the maner and lyuyng of men, doth greatly dyffer from the lyfe of wylde beastes, the whiche be alway abrode in the fieldes. For it is mete for men to haue houses. Wherfore it is conueniente, that they, whiche wyll haue somewhat to bringe into theyr houses, haue menne with them to do those warkes, that muste nedes be done abrode in the fieldes. For tyllyng of the grounde, sowyng of the corne, settynge of trees, and kepyng of beastis at grasse and pasture, be all done abrode. But agayne, it is nedefull, whan those fruities be conveyed into the hous, to ouer se and saue them, and to do al suche thinges as must be done at home. Babis and yonge children muste nedes be brought vppe within the house. Breade muste be baked, and the meate sod and dressed within the house. Also spynnyng, cardynge, and weauyng muste be doone within the house. And where that bothe those thynges, that must be done abrode, and those that be doone within the house do require care & diligence: me thinkest that god hath caused nature to shewe plainly,

A houses
wyues of
fyce.

Xenophons treatise

plainly, that a womā is borne to take heide
of all suche thynges, as muste be doone at
home. For he hath made mā of body, hart,
and stomachke, strong and mighty, to suffre
and endure hete and cold, to iourney, and
go a warfare. Wherfore god hath in a man-
ner commaunded and charged hym with
those thynges, that be done abrode out of
the howse. He also remembryng, that
he hath ordeined the woman, to bryng vp
yonge chyldren, he hath made her farre
more tender in loue towarde her chyldren,
than the housebande. And where he hath
ordeined, that the woman shuld kepe those
thinges, that the man getteth and bringeth
home to her, and he knowyng very well,
that for to kepe a thyng suerlye, it is not
theworste pointe, to be doubtful and fear-
full, he dealed to her a greate deale more
feare, than he dyd to the man.

And he also perceyuinge, that if any man
doth hym wronge, the whiche labourethe
and worketh without, he must defende him
selfe, he distributed to the man a great dele
more boldnes. And for because it beho-
ueth, that both they do gyue and receyue,
he hath gruen them indifferently remem-
brance and diligence, in so moche, that it is
hard to discerne, whether kynd hath more
of

of them, either the man or the womanne, he hath also granted them indifferently, to refrayne them selfes from such thinges, as is conuenient they do. And hathe gyuen the power and auctoritie, that loke in what thinge the either of them doth the better, he bringeth the more away with hym. But bicause the natures and the dispositions of them both, be not egally soo perfecte in all these thinges, they haue so moch the more nede the one of the other. And this couple is so moch the more profitable, the one to the other, bycause that that the one lacketh, the other hath. wherfor good wife, seyng we se that, which god hath ordeined for vs bothe, we muste enforce, and endeour our selues to do bothe our partes in the best wise. The lawe semeth to comfort vs and exhort vs to it, the which coupleth man and wyfe together. And lykewyse as god maketh them come to gether to gette chyldren, So the lawe wyll haue them liue together, partakers one of an others godes in good feloweshippe. Lyke wyse the lawe sheweth, and god commandeth, that it is beste for eche of theim to do their parte. For it is more honestie for a womā to kepe her house, than to walke aboute. And it is more shame for a man to abyde sluggynge

Xenophons treatise

at home, than to apply his mynde to suche
thinges as must be done abrode. But if a=
ny man doth contrary to that that he is na=
turally borne to, parauenture god wyll re=
membre, that he breaketh his statutes and
decrees, and wyll punishe hym, outher for
because he is negligēt in that that he shuld
do, oreis bycause he taketh vpon hym that
that belongeth to the wyfe. Ne thynketh
also, that the maistres bee, that kepeth the
hyue, dothe lykewyse, that that god hath
ordeyned hir vnto. And what dothe the
maystres bee, sayde she, wherby it may be
likened to that that I must do? For because
sayde he, it bydeth alwaye in the hyue, and
wyll not suffre no bees to be ydle: and they
that shuld worke without, she sedeth the to
their worke. And what so euer any of them
bringeth home, she marketh, receyveth,
and saueth it, vntyll the tyme come that it
muste be occupied. And whan the time co=
methe, that it muste be occupied, than she
distributeth euery thyngē accordyng as e=
quitie requireth. And she causeth the that
do bide within, to weave & make the faire
hony comes after the best wise, and taketh
hede to the yonge bees, that they be well
fed & brought vp. But whan they be come
to that age, and to that point, that they be
able

A good en
sample
of bees.

able to worke, she sendeth them out with one, the which they folowe as their gyde and capitayne. And must I do so to, sayde my wyfe? Ye forsoth sayd I: For ye must alwaye byde within the house, and those men, the whiche muste worke abrode, ye must sende them to it: and they that muste worke within, ye must commaunde them and be ouer them, to se thē do it. And that that is brought in, ye must receiue it. And that, whiche muste be spente of it, ye must parte and deuide it. And that that remai-
neth, ye must ley it vp and kepe it safe, tyll time of nede. And beware, that, that whi-
che was apoynted to be spente in a twelue
monthe, be not spente in a monthe. And
whan the wol is brought in to you, ye must
se, that it be carded and sponne, that clothe
may be made of it. Also ye muste see, that
the corne, whiche is brought in to you, be
not so musty, and dusty, that it maye not be
eaten. But one thynge specially aboue all
other there is, that ye must be careful fore,
and that shall gette you greate fauour and
loue, that is, if any of our seruauntes hap
to falcicke, that ye endeavour your self, the
beste that ye canne, not onely to cherysshe
them, but also to helpe that they may haue
theri helth agayne. By my feyth, sayde

D my

Xenophons treatise

my wyfe, it is a very gracious and a kynde dede. For whan they be ones holpen, and eased, thei wil cunne vs very good thanke, and be the more louynge and feithfulli unto vs. And me thoughte, sayde Ischomachus, that it was an aunswere of a good and an honeste wyfe. And by the reason of this good prouision of this maystres bee, sayde I, all the tother beare so good loue and affection vnto her, that whan soo euer she goeth out of the hyue, there will none tary behynde, but all wayte vpon her.

Than my wyfe answered me. I do greatly meruayle, whether suche thynges, as ye saye the maystres bee dothe, doo not bee longe moche more to you than to me.

For my kepinge & departyng within, were but a lyttell worthe, excepte ye dyd your diligence, that somewhat myght by brought in. And my bryngynge in, sayde I, shulde auayle but a littel, excepte there were one, that kept and sauid that that I brought in.

Do ye not see, sayde I, howe euery man hath great pite of thē, the which, they say, that their punishment is to poure water in to tubbes full of hooles, tylle they be full. And they pite them for nothing els, but be cause they seme to labour in vaine. By my sayth, sayd my wife, they be very miserable

in dede, the whiche do so. There be other thynges, that belongeth to you to take hede of, the whiche must nedes be very pleaseante vnto you, as when ye haue taken one in to your seruice, that canne neyther spyn nor carde, if ye teache her to doo it, it shall be twyse so moche more worthe vnto you.

And if ye haue a maide, the whiche is other negligent, or is not trewe of her handes, or that can not wayte, if ye make her diligent, trusty, and a good seruaunte, all shall be to your great profyte. And agayne, whan ye se your seruantes good and sobre felowes, and profytale for your house, ye muste do the good, and shewe them some gentilnes. But if there be any of the knauishe or frowarde, ye muste punishe theym. And this agayne shulde be moste pleasant of al, if ye coude make your selfe better than I, and make me as it were your seruaunt. And ye nede not feare, lest in proces of time, whan ye come to age, ye be lesse set by: but be ye sure of this, if ye be diligent, louynge, and tendable to me, our chyldren, and householde, the elder that ye ware, the more honourable and better esteemed shall ye be.

For it is not the beautifulnesse, and goodly shappe, but the very vertue and goodnes that men regarde, and fauour.

Xenophons treatise

I remembre good Socra. that my fyſt
comunication with her, was after this ma-
ner. And dyd ye perceyue good Ischo-
machus, sayd I, that by the reaſon of this,
ſhe was any thinge moued to be more dili-
gente? Yes verily, ſayde Ischomachus.
And I ſaw her vpon a time ſore an angerd
with her ſelfe, and greatlye ashamed, that
whan I asked her a thyng, that I hadde
brought home, ſhe coulde not fette it me.
And whan I ſaw, that it greued her very
ſore, I ſaid vnto her, Take neuer the more
thought for the matter, if ye can not gyue
me that that I aske you. For it is a token
of pouerte in very dede, whā a man lacketh
a thyng, that he can not haue. But this
nede maye be ſuffered a great deale better,
whan a man ſeketh a thyng and canne not
fynde it, than if at the begynnyng he doth
not ſeke for it, knowing that he hath it not.
But as for this ye be not to be blamed, ſaid
I, but I my ſelfe, ſeinge I haue not apoin-
ted you a place, where to leye euery thing,
that ye myghte knowe, where ye ſhuld ſet
it, and where to fette it agayne.

The prais
and profit
of orde.

There is no thyng, good ſwete wife, ſo
profitable and ſo goodlye amonge men, as
is an order in euery thyng.

In playes and enterludes, where a great
company

company of men is assembled to play theyr partes, if they shuld rashely do 2 say, what so euer fell into theyr braynes, it wolde be but a trouble and a busines, and no pleasure to beholde them. But whan they doo and speake euerye thyng in order, the audy= ence hath a very greate pleasure bothe to beholde them, ye and also to here theym. And lykewise an army of menswete wyfe, sayde I, that is out of order, and set out of good arraye, is a very great confusion, in daunger to be lightly ouercome of theyr enimies, and a very pituous and myserable sight to theyr frendes, as whan there is to gether in a plumpe, asses, fotemen, cartes, baggage, and menne of armes. And howe shulde they go forwarde, whan they do let one an other? He that gothe, letteth hym that runneth, he that runneth, disturbeth hym that standeth still, the cart letteth the mā of armes, the asse, the cart, the baggage the foteman. And if they shulde come to the point, that they must fight, howe coude they fight being in that taking? For whan they be faine, by the reson of their il order, to flee theyr owne compayne, that letteth them, howe coude they, thus fleing, ouer= come them, that set rpon them in good or= der of battayle, and well weaponed? But

D iii the

Xenophons treatise

the armye, that is well ordred and kept in
good array, is a very pleasant sight to their
riendes, and greuous to theyr enmyes.
what frend is there, but that he wil haue a
very great pleasure, to se the fotemen mar-
che forwarde in good order and arraye?
what is that man, but he wil marueil, whan
he beholdeth a great numbre of men of ar-
mes rydynge in good arraye and order?
And what enimie wil not be aferd, whan he
seeth morispikes, billes, mē of armes, cros-
bowes, and also archers, the which folowe
their capitaynes in good arraye and order
of battayle? And also whan they marche
forwarde in good array, if they be neuer so
many thousandes, yet they walke as peasi-
bly as though there wer but one mā alone.
And what maketh a gale, well furnyshed
with men, feareful to the enimies, and plea-
saunte to beholde vnto friendes, but that it
goth so swyftly? And what maketh them
that be in it, that they do not trouble one an
other, but that they do sytte in order, kepe
z make signes in order, lye downe in order,
ryse in order, drawe the oores in order?
And as for confusion z misorder, me thyn-
keth it is lyke, as if a man of the countreye
shuld put together on a hepe, otes, wheate
barly, and pease: and whan he had nedē to
occupie

occupie any of them, he shulde be fayne to
trye it out, and put it by it selfe agayne.

Wherfore swete wife, ye shall lightly es-
chewe suche confusyon, yf ye put to your
good wil, to set in good order that that we
haue, & take to you that that ye haue nede
of, and spare not: and gue to me that that
I call for graciously. And let vs seke out
and prepare a hanosome place to sette euery
thyng in, accordynge as euery thyng re-
quireth. And whan we haue sette it there,
let vs shewe it the seruaunte, that he maye
fetche it, and lay it vp agayne.

And thus we shall knowe, what we haue
saued, & what we haue loste. For the place
it selfe shall lacke that that it shulde haue.
And the sight wil secke out that that hath
nede of helpe, and make vs to know anone,
where lyeth euery thyng, so that we shall
not be to seke, whan we haue nede of it.

I remembre good Socrates, that vpon a
tyme I wente a bourde a shyppe of Phe-
nicia, where I beheld the goodlyest order
and the mooste perfecte that euer I sawe.
I considered, howe great aboundaunce of
implimentes was in that smalle vessell.
There were many oeres, and many other
thynges made of wodde: with the whiche
they brynge the shype into, and out of the

The order
of a shyp.

D. iii. hauen

Xenophons treatise

hauen. What a sorte of shrowdes, halsers, cables, lines, & other takeling was there: With howe many ingsins of warre both to defend it selfe, and to greue an enmye, was it armed? What a syghte of armoure and weapons of the men, cary they about with them. Moreouer, they cary with them moche vitayle and other necessaries, that mē vse at home in theyr houses. Besyde al this it was laded, with suche stouffe and goodes, as the shyppe mayster getteth by the cariage therof. And all this gearre that I speke of, was stowed in so litel a rowme, that a farre greater place wolde not haue receyued it, if it shulde haue ben remoued. And I marked howe euery thyng was so well sette in good order, that no one thyng dyd let an other, nor hadde no nede to be longe sought fore: Nor were not so scatred, and so yll compacte, that a man shulde tary longe for it, whan he shulde occupy it quickly. And he that wayted vpon the patrone of the shyppe, that is to saye, he that standeth in the fore part of the shyp, I perceyued, that he had euery place so well in his mynde, that though he were not there, he wolde tell you redily where euery thyng laye none otherwyse thanne he that is lerned, can telle howe many letters

go

go to this worde, Socrates, and in what place euery letter is sette. Moreouer I sawe hym, whan he was serchynge and castynge in his mynde, howe many thynges a shyppe hath nede of: Than I maruaylyng, wheron he mused and studied, asked hym what he meaneid. I consider and caste aforhant good man, quod he, if any thing shulde chaunce, howe and in what redines euery thynge lyeth in his shipp, whether any thynge lyeth out of the place, or if euer ything be not trymmed to the purpose.

For it is no tyme, whan god sendeth vs a storne on the sea, to be sekyngh that that we nede of, nor to bringe forth that that is not hansomie and well trymmed. For god threteth and punisheth them that be ydell and negligent. And we may be glad, if he doo not distroye vs, whan we do our duetie. And if he saueth them that vse gret labour and diligence, they oughte to thanke hym greatly. Wherfore whan I perceyued and sawe that goodly and perfect order, I said vnto my wyfe, that it shuld be great slouth and negligence vnto vs, if they, whiche be but in lyttell shyppes and smalle vesselles, fynde feete places to stowe every thynge in, that they carye with them. And though they be soore shaken and troubled, and cō-

D.v. cīnually

Xenophons treatise

tinually in gret feare, yet they kepe a good order. And we that haue so goodly places and a house standyng stedfastely on the lande, coulde not fynde places meete and conuenient for to sette euery thyng in, howe moche oughte we to be blamed of lewdenes and small wysedome?

We haue sufficietly spoken, howe profitable it is to set al the implitentes of the house in good ordre, and to set every thing in suche a redines, in places mete therfore, that it maye be easye to fynd and come by, whan nede requireth. But howe goodly a thinge is it to se sewtes of all a mannes apparell, lyenge by it selfe, keuerlettes, and couuterpointes by the selfe, shetes, towels, and all naprye ware by them selfes, pottes, pannes, caudrons, and other garnitures of the ketchyn by the selfe, al that longeth to the table by it selfe, and so lyke wylle of all other thynges, that long to an house, wher at he that is vnwyse, & knoweth not good order, wylle laughe. And whether it be so or not, my swete wife, we may lightly prove without great cost, and with small labour.

And ye must not trouble youre selfe, as though it were an harde thing to fynd one, that coude lerne the places, and remembre where to set euery thyng. For we knowe well,

well, that in the citie there is a thousande
tymes more ware thanne we haue: but yet
what so euer seruant ye wyl commande, to
go and bye you somwhat, in the market, he
wyl not stand styll, as though he coude not
tell what to do, but by the reason that he re
membreth, where he hath sene of it, he goth
thither streyghte waye, and fetchethe it.
And surely ther is none other cause of this
said I, but that there is a place determined
where one shall haue it. But if one seketh
a man, the whiche seketh hym to, may for
tune he wyl often tyme be sooner werye
than he can fynde hym. And of this lyke
wyse, there is none other cause, but that
there is no place apointed, where the tone
shuld tary for the tother. As for settynge
in order of the household stuffe, and of the
use of it, I remembre I spake vnto her af
ter this maner. And howe thought ye by
your wyfe, good Ischomachus, sayde I?
Whether did she obey you in that thyng,
that ye taught her so busly? Ischo. What
shuld I say, but that she promised to apply
her mynde vnto it. And me thought verily
by her countinaunce, she was very gladde,
that where afore she was in greate doubte
and perplexitie, she had found a good way
in it, and besought me, that I wolde make

Xenophons treatise

an order of euery thing, as I had said vnto her, as soone as was possible. And what order dyd you shewe her good Ischomachus sayde I & Ischo. What order shuld I shewe her but this? Fyrst me thoughte best to shewe her, what a house properlye was ordeyned fore. For it is not ordeyned to be gorgeously peinted with diuers faire pictures, but it is builded for this purpose and consideration, that it shulde be a profitabile vessell for those thynges, that shulde be in it. wherfore in a maner it biddeth the dwellers, to lay vp every thyng, where it is moste mete to put it. The inner priueye chambre, because it standeth strongeste of al, loketh for to haue the iewels, plate, and all suche thynges as be mooste preciouse. The drye places loke for the wheate, The colde for the wyne. And bryght places do desyre suche workes and thynges, as require lightsomnes. Moreouer, I shewed her, howe parlers and dininge places, wel trymmed and dressed, for men to eate and drynke in, in sommer shulde be colde, and in winter hotte. And I shewed her, howe all the situation of the house was very moche southwarde, wherby it may be clerely vnderstante, that in winter the sonne ligeth well fauourdly vpon it, and in sommer there

there is goodly shadowe in it. Further, I shewed her the nourcery and the wemens lodgyng, diuided from the mens lodgyng, lest there came out any thyng amysse, and our seruantes shulde get theym chyldren without our consentment. For they that be good, if they haue chyldren throughe our permisiō, they wil loue vs the better. And they that be noughe, if they come ones to couple with a woman, they wyl fynde the more wayes, and the more better shyfte to fulfyll their vngratioues. And after we had spoken thus sayde he, we went and desuided the householde stiffe, by sewtes and sortes after this maner. Fyrst we dyd put to gether all maner of thinges longyng to sacrifices. Nexte to that the good wyes apparell, both for holydayes and workyng dayes, and afterwarde the good mannes apparell, bothe for the holy dayes, and also for warre. Clothes for mens chambres and for the nourcery, mennes showes, and wemens showes. Than we appoynted out the instrumentes, that belongeth to spinning and cardinge, and suche as perteyne to the bake house, to the kechin, to the bathe, and to the boultrynge house. We did seperate a sonder those thynges, that shulde be occupied alwaye, from those that be occupied,

but

Xenophons treatise

but at dinner and souper. And we dyd sepe-
rate that that we shuld spend in a monthes
space, and that that was apointed to serue
vs a twelue monthe. For so it is the better
knownen, in what maner it is brought to an
ende. And after we hadde seperated all the
householde stuffe in sewtis and sortes, we
dyd set euery thinge in a place conuenient.
Afterwarde all the instrumentes that our
seruauntes muste occupy dayly, as for the
backehouse, for the kytchin, for spynninge
and cardyng, and other lyke, we dydde
shewe them the place, where they shoulde
put them agayn, and than delyuered them,
and bade theym kepe theim safe. And as
for suche thynges, as shulde be occupied
but scldome, or vpon holy dayes, or whan
there came any straungers vnto vs, or at
certayne other times, in certayne busynes,
we delyuered theym vnto a womanne, that
we made the keper of our store house, and
shewed her the place, where they shoulde
be sette. And whanne we had made a re-
kenyng vnto her of all, and also written e-
uery thyng, we bade her, that she shulde
deliuer them forth as time and nede requi-
red, and that she shulde remembrie well, to
whom she deliuered any thyng. And whan
she received it agayne, that she shuld lay it
vppe,

uppe, where she had it before. And to be
keper of our storehouse, we apointed her,
that seemed vnto vs more sobre and tempe-
rate in eatynge, drinking, and sleping, and
that she coude very wel refrain the cōpany
of men, and that seemed also to haue a verye
good remembrance, and that wold beware
to be founde in a faute through her negli-
gence, leste she shulde displease vs with it,
and seke the meane to do that that shoulde
please vs, that she myghte be prayesed and
rewarded for it. More ouer we taughte
her to haue a good wyl towarde vs, and to
loue vs, For bycause that whan there was
any thynge happened, that made vs ioyful
and gladde, we made her partakar of it,
and if we were sorowfull and heuy for any
matter, we called her, and shewed her the
same. Furthermore we taughte her to set
her good wyll and her good mynde, to en-
crease our house, teaching her the way and
the maner howe. And if any thynge for-
tuned well to vs, we gaue her parte of it.
Also we taught her to be iust and trewe in
her busynes, and to esteme and set more by
them, that were good and rightefull, than
by them that were false and vntrewe: And
we shewed her, howe they lyued in more
welthe and more libertie, thanne they that
were

A good
wifes
duetie.

Xenophons treatise
were false and vntrustye. And so thus we
dyd sette her in the rowme. And at the
laste good Socrates, sayde he, I sayde vnto
my wyfe, that all this shulde auayle no
thyng, excepte she toke diligent hede, that
euery thyng might remaine styl in good or
der. I taught her also howe in comon wel
thes, and in good cities, that were wel ru
led and ordred, it was not inoughe for the
citezens and dwellers, to haue good lawes
made vnto them, excepte that they besyde
chose me to haue the ouersight of the same
lawes, the whose duetie shuld be to se, that
they the whiche do well, and accordyng
to the lawe, maye be preyed, and he that
doth the contrary, to be punysshed. And
soo I bad my wyfe, that she shulde thynke
her selfe to be, as if it were the ouerseer of
the lawes within our house: and that she
shulde, whan she thought best, ouer se the
stiffe, vessel, and implemetes of our hous
none otherwise thanne the capitaine of a
garison ouerseeth and proueth the soudy
ours, howe euery thyng standeth: or like
wyse as the Senate and the counsell of A
thenes ouerseeth, & maketh a proffe bothe
of the men of armes, and also of theyr hor
ses. And that she shulde preise & reward
hem, that were worthy, to her power, as
if she

if she were a quene, And blame, ye and pus-
nysshē hym, that doth deserue it. Bysyde
al this I taught her, that she shulde not be
displeased, if I did put her to more busines
z charged her with mo thynges to be done
in the house, than any seruaunt I had, shē
wynge her, that prentis and couenant ser-
uātes haue no more of their maisters goo-
des, but as moche as they deliuer them, to
do theyr maysters seruice with al, or to be-
stowe it in their behalfe, or to kepe it for
them: and they may occupye none of it to
theyr owne yse, excepte their maisters do
gyue it them. But he that is the mayster,
he hath al, and maye yse euery thing at his
owne pleasure, wherfore he that hath most
profytte by it, if his goodes be saufe, hath
moste losse, if they be loste or perissched. I
shewed her, it wer reason he shuld be most
diligent, and take best hede about it. Then
sayde I. Good Ischomachus, whanne
your wyfe harde this, howe dyd she take
it: what wyll ye haue any more of it good
Socrates, but that she sayd: I knowe her
not wel, if I thought it dyd greue her, that
I shoulde teache her, to take hede to her
goodes and substaunce. For it shulde haue
ben more greuous vnto me a greate deale,
sayd she, if ye had bade me to take no hede

Xenophons treatise

to my goodes, than to byd me to be diligēt about that that is mine owne. For me thin-
keth, that like wise, as it is naturally giuen to a good womā, rather to be diligēt about her owne chyldren, thanne not to care for them, Lyke wyse it is more pleasure for an honest womanne to take hede to her owne goodes, than to set nought by them .

And whan I harde, sayd Socrates, that his wife gaue him such an answere, I said, By my Faith Ischomuchus, ye tell me of a ioly and a manly stomacke of a womanne. Ye, sayde he, ye shall here me telle you other thynges yet, that wyl well shewe her good lusty harte, that whan she had hard but ones speake of it, streyght way she did after me in it. Soc. I pray you tel me that, for surely I haue more pleasure a greatte deale, to lerne the vertue of a woman alius, than if Zeulis the excellent peynter shuld shewe me the pycture and portrature of a fayre woman . Than sayde Ischom. whan I had sene her vpon a tyme, that she had peynted her face with a certayne oyntment, that she might seeme whitter than she was, and with an other oyntment, that she might seeme redder thā she was in very dede, and that she had a peyre of high showes on her feete, to make her seeme taller woman than

she

She was, I sayde vnto her: Tell me, good wyfe, whether wolde ye iuge me worthier to be beloued, if our goodes and substance nowe beinge common one to an other, if I shulde shewe you that that I haue in very dede, & make nother more of it nor no lesse than it is in very dede, and kepte nothyng priuey from you: or if I went about to deceiue you, saying I had more than I haue, and shewinge you false money, cheynes of brasse in stede of golde, counterfeyt precious stones, red in the stede of scarlet, false purple in the stede of pure and good?

Than she answered strey ghte waye. God forbid ye shuld be such one: For if ye were suche one, I coude not fynde in myne hart to loue you. I wyll tell you wyfe: We be come together, to thintent to haue plesure of the body one of an other, at the lest men say so: Whether than, seinge I must giue you my body to vse with you, were I better to be beloued after your iugement, if I studied and went about to make my bodye seme the lustier, the strōger, the better coloured, the better cōplexioned, and shuld noynte my face with certaine oyntmentes, and soo shewe me vnto you, and lye with you, and gyue you these oyntmentes to se and to handle, in the stede of my colore,

E ii and

Xenophons treatise
and of myne owne face? Forsooth, sayd she,
I shuld never haue more pleasure in hand-
lynge any oyntemente in the stede of your
face, nor delyte more in thyng counterfei-
ted, thā in your very eies and natural face.
Thynke lyke wyse by me good wyfe, sayd
Ischomachus, that I haue no more plea-
sure in oyntmentes, thanne I haue in your
owne natural body and face. And like wise
as god hath made horses, to haue pleasure
with maares, bulles with kyne, rammes
with ewes, so lyke wise menne doo thynke
that body moste pleasant, that is pure. And
as for suche wyles and deceytes, they may
paraduenture begyle straungers, soo that
they shall never be spyd, but they that be
dayly conuersant together, they shal light-
ly perceiue, if the one go about to deceiue
the other. For they wyll be spyd, either
whan they ryse out of theyr bedde, before
they make them redy, or whan they sweate
or whan they wepe, or whan they wasshe &
bath them. Socra. And I praye you, sayd
I, what an aunsweare made she to it. Ischo.
What, sayde I: by my feyth she went ne-
uer sens aboute no suchematters, but shea-
wed her selfe alway pure with as good cō-
lines as myght be. And she asked me, whe-
ther I coude giue her any counsayle, howe
she

She shulde be fayrer in dede, and not onely
appere so. And than I gaue her counsaile,
that she shulde not sit styll lyke a slauie or a
bondeman, but go aboute the house lyke a
maistres, and se howe the workes of the
house wente forwarde: sometymes to the
weauinge wemen, both to teche them that
she can do better than they, & also to marke
who doth better or worse: some tymes to
loke vpon her that baketh the bread: some
tymes to loke vpon her, that kepereth the
store house, to se her set vp and mette that
that she weaueth: sometimes to bestir her
selfe, lokinge if euery thynge be sette vp in
his place. For I reckened, that this shulde
be bothe away, to take hede to the house,
and also shulde serue for a good walke. Als
o I said, it were a good exercise to washe,
to boulte, to bake, to shake keuerlettes,
hangynges, tappessary ware, and to sette
them vp agayne in their place. For I said.
if she did somewhat to exercise her selfe, she
shoulde haue the more luste to her meate,
she shulde be the more helthy, and get bet
ter fauored colour in very dede. And also
the sight of the maistres, being more clen
lier and far better apparyled, and settynge
her hand to worke, and in a maner striuyng
with her seruantes, who shal do most, is a

E iii great

Xenophons treatise

greate comforthe vnto them, that be vnder
her, specially whan it lieth in them, either
to do her pleasure in doing of theyr worke
with a good wyll, or to be compelled to do
it againte theyr wylles. But they that ala-
way do stande styl like quenes in their ma-
iestie, they wil be onely iuged of those wo-
men that be triumphantly arayed, the whiche
do deceyue them. And nowe, sayd he,
good Socrates be ye sure, she lyueth euen
as I haue taughte her, and as I tell you.
Soc. Than sayde I. Good Ischomachus,
me thinketh ye haue sufficiētly spoken tou-
chynge the behauour of your wyfe, and of
you, to the greate prayse of you bothe: but
now I pray you, tel me your owne dedes,
that bothe ye may reioyce in tellyng suchē
thynges, the whiche do get you so good a
name. And whan I haue harde and lerned
the workes & dedes of a good honest man,
I may giue you such thākes as ye deserue,
and accordyng to my power. By my faith
sayde Ischomachus, I wyll be gladde to
tell you all, what so euer I doo, to the en-
tent ye may correcte me, if ye thynke I do
not wel in some thynge. Socrates. Ye but
tel me, howe coude I correcte you, seinge
that ye be come to this poynt, to be a good
honest man, specially whan I am the man,
that

that is take for a trifler, that occupieth him selfe in nothyng, but in measuryng of the aire: And that that is a very sore rebuke, and a token of most great foly, I am called a poore man. And I assure you, that name wold have troubled me very sore, if I had not met the other day by chance one Nicias hors, and sene moch people that came after to beholde him, and harde very moch talkyng of hym. And in very dede I came to the horsekeper and asked him, whether the horse had moch money or not. And he loked vpon me, as though I had ben mad, to aske hym suche a pynishe question, and said: Howe shuld a horse haue any money? And so I turned me euен backe again, whā I harde, it was lafull for a poore horse to be good, if he had a good fre harte and stō macke with him. And therfore I praye you, seinge it is lyke wise lauful for a poore man to be good, that ye wyll tell me your maner of lyuyng to the vttermost poynte, to thentent that whan ye haue tolde me, I maye endeavour my selfe to lerne it, & from this day forwarde to begyn to folowe you and do after you. For that maye be called a very good day, on the whiche a man beginneth to be good and vertuous. I know well ye iest with me good Socrates, sayde

The name
of pouerte

E. llii. Ischias

Xenophons treatise

Ischomachus : But yet I wyll tell you as
farforth as I canne, the holle course of my
lyfe, the whiche I purpose to folowe styl
cyl the laste daye of my lyfe.

After that I had wel perceiued, that ex-
cepte a man knoweth what is to be done, &
wyll sette and applye his mynde and dyly-
gence to performe the same, god granteth
no man to do well. And vnto them, that be
both wise and diligent, god sendeth welth
and good fortune. Wherfore fyre of all
I began to honour and worshyppe god, and
to call vpon hym with my prayers, that he
wold vouchesafe to send me the grace, that
I might haue my helth, strength of body,
honour in my citie, good wyll of my fren-
des, to returne home agayn safe from war-
fare, with the increase of my ryches and
goodes. Socra. And whan I harde that,
I said: And care ye so moch to waxe riche,
seinge that whan ye be ryche, ye haue the
more trouble, in studienge howe to order
and kepe your goodes ? Yes mary, sayde
Ischo. I haue no small care of that that ye
aske me. For me thynketh it is great plea-
sure both to worshyppe god honorably, and
to helpe my frendes, if they be in nede, and
to se that the citie be not depryued of the
ornementes of ryches, as moche as lyeth
in me

in me. Socrat. By my fayth, that that ye say good Ischomachus, is good and also very honorable, and longynge to a man of great power and substaunce. Ischo. It muste nedes be thus. For there be somme men, the whiche can not liue but they must be holpen of other men. And there be many agayne, that reken it sufficient, if they canne get that, that is necessary for them. But those that wyll not onely order and gyde theyr houses, but also haue so greate abondaunce, that they do both honour to the citie, and also helpe and ease their fren- des: why shulde not they be called and ta- ken for men of profound wisedome, of gret power, and of stout stomacke? Socrates. Surely there be many of vs, sayde I, that may well praise suche maner of men. But for goddis sake tell me euen fro the place, where ye beganne, howe ye go aboute to maintein your helth, and also the strength of your body, howe it may be lauful, to re- tourne honourably home agayn safe from the warre. For as touchynge the encreas- syng of goodes, we shall here of it after- warde sufficienly. But me thynketh, said Isc. that these thinges be linked together, and come one after an other. For whan a man hathe meate and drynke sufficienly, if

Xenophons treatise

he do labour well, he shall haue his helthe
the better and the longer. And he that is
well exercised in war, he shal returne home
safe agayne, and with more honour. And
he that is diligent, and doth not coker him
selfe, nor gyue him selfe to slouth and idel-
nes, he is the more lykely to encrease his
house. Socra. Forsooth good Isch. I grant
you all this euen hytherto, where ye saye,
that he that laboureth, taketh peyne, vseth
diligence, and exerciseth him selfe, cometh
the rather to goodes. But what labour ye
use to meintaine a good complection, and
to get you strength, and howe also ye exer-
cise your self for the war, and howe ye stu-
dye to get so moch substance and goodes,
that ye may bothe helpe your frendes, and
make the citie more honorable and strōger
by it, that wold I very fayne here. Verily
good Socrates sayde Ischoma. I rysle in
the mornynge out of my bed so yerely, that
if I wold speke with any mā, I shal be sure
to fynde hym yet within. And if I haue a
ny thyngado in the citie, I go about it, &
take it for a walke. And if I haue no matter
of great importance to do within the citie,
my page bryngeth my horse afore in to the
fieldes, and so I take the way to my groud
for a walke, better perauenture, than if I
dyd

byd walke in the galeries and walking places of the citie. And whan I come to my grounde, and if my tenantes be eyther setynge of trees, or tyllyng or renewyng the grounde, or sowyng, or caryenge of the fruite, I beholde howe euery thynge is done, and caste in my mynd, how I might do it better. And afterwarde for the most parte, I gette me a horsebacke, and ride as nere as I can, as though I were in warre constrainyd to do the same, wherfore I do not spare nother croked wyes, nor noo shroude goinges vp, no ditches, waters, hedges, nor trenches, takynge hede for al that, as nere as can be possible, that in this doing, I do not maime my horse. And whā I haue thus doone, the page leadeth the horse trottyng home agayne, and caryeth home with him into the cite, out of the cūstrey, that that we haue nede of. And so thā I get me home againe, somtimes walkyng, and somtyme runnyng. Then I wasshe my handes, and so go to dyner good Soc. the which is ordyned betwene bothe, soo that I abrde al the daye nother voyde nor yet to full. Socrates. By my trouth good Ischomachus, ye do these thynges wonders pleasauntely. For in dede to vse and occupye at ones all maner of thynges,

that

Xenophons treatise

that be ordeined for helth, for strength, for
exercise of war, for study and conueiaunce,
howe to get goodes, and all in one time, me
thinketh a maruailous thyng. For ye do
shewe evident tokens, that ye applie your
mynde well and trewely to al this. For we
se you commonly, thanked be god, for the
moste parte helthfull, stronge and lustye.
More ouer we know, that ye be called one
of the breste horse men, and one of the ry-
chest men of the citie. Ischomachus. And
thoughe I thus do, as ye haue harde, yet
can not I eschewe detraction: yet thought
paraduenture that I wolde haue sayde, I
am therfore called a good honeste manne.
Soc. And forsoth so I was aboute to say
good Ischoma. But this I thought fyriste
to enquire of you, whether ye do studye &
set your mynde, howe to answere these de-
tractours, and speake in a cause, whether it
be your owne or an other mans, or to iuge
it, if nede be. Isch. Thinke you that I do
not sufficiently my part in this matter, if I
thynke by my good dedes to defende my
selfe, and do no wronge, and as moche as
I may helpe and do pleasure to many mens?
And moreouer, thinke ye that it is not wel
done to accuse suche men, that do wronge
bothe to priuate men, and also to the citie, &
that

that wyll do no man good? Socrat. But yet if ye set your mynde to suchethynges, I praye you shewe it me? Ischomachus. Forsoth I never stint, but am alway exercysinge my selfe in retoricke and eloquence. For whan I here one of my seruantes cōplayne on an other, or answere in his owne cause, I seke to knowe the truthe. Again, I either blame some man to my frendes, or els prayse him, or els I go about to bringe at one some men of mine acquaintance, that be at variaunce, endeuorynge my selfe, to shewe them, howe it is more for theyr profytte to be fryendes, than yll wyllers and ennies. And before the hygh rulers I use both to commende and defende hym, that is oppressed by wronge and iniury, and before the lordes of the counsayle I accuse hym, that I see promoted ynworthyly, and I preyse that that is done by counsaile and deliberation, and the contrarye I discomande. But I am nowe broughte to this point, that either it behoueth me to suffre, or to punishe. Socr. Of whome I praye the Ischo? For that do not I yet knowe. Ischoma. Mary of my wyfe. Soc. But in what maner do ye stryue in your quarel? Ischom. Whan she happeth to say trouth, it is very gentilly done. But whan she lyeth,

stryffe
with a
wyfe.

Xenophons treatise

eth, and erreth in her wordes, forsooth So.
I can not reforme her. Soc. May chance
that, that is false, ye can not make it trewe.
But parauenture ye wold begon Ischo.
and I do let you. Truly I wolde be lothe
to tary you, if it please you to go hense.

Ischomachus. Ho in good faythe, good
Socrates, I wil not go hence til the court
breake vp. Socrates. By my faythe, ye
be right circumspect, and take good hede,
that ye lose not that honorable name, to be
called a good honest man. For where par-
auenture ye haue many great businesses &
thynges to take hede to, that require gret
dylygence: yet bycause ye promyfed those
strangers to tary for them here, ye wil nos
deceiue them. Ischo. As for those my bu-
sinesses that ye speke of Socrates, I haue
prouided for them wel inough. For I haue
in the fieldes my baillies of housbandry, &
my deputies. Socr. But sines we be fall in
this communication, I pray you Ischoma-
chus tell me, whan ye haue nede of a good
baylye, doo ye inquere, whether there be
any that canne do it welle, and so fynde the
meane to haue hym: lyke wyse as whan ye
haue nede of a carpenter, whan ye knowe
where is one, that can good skylle therof,
ye wil desire to haue hym, orels do ye make
your

your baylies and deputies your selfe, and
teache them to do it? By my fayth, I in-
deuour me to teache and instruct them my
selfe. For he that shulde be sufficient to do
thosethynges for me in myne absencethat,
he is put to, what nedeth he to knowe any
thyng, but that that I doo my selfe? For
if I be sufficient to sette men a worke, and
commaunde them what they shall doo, I
trow I am able to teach an other man that
that I can do my selfe. Socrat. Then he
that is a baily of housbādry must owe you
good wyll and fauour, and also to al yours,
if he being present, shalbe sufficient in your
absence. For without loue and good wyl,
what good can a baylye do, if he be neuer
so experte and connyng? By my faythe,
said Ischomachus, neuer a whit: but as for
me, the fyreste thyngie that euer I do, I go
aboute to teache him to loue me and mine,
and to loue my goodes. And I pray you
for goddis sake tell me, howe do ye teache
him to loue you and yours, who so euer he
be that ye do this benefitte vnto? By my
fayth, sayd he, by gentil and liberal dealing,
whan god sendeth me plenty of any maner
thinge. Socra. This ye meane I trowe,
that they, the whiche be eased and holpe
by your goodes or money, do loue you and
desyre

Howe to
p̄pare a
Baylie of
houſbands
dry.

Xenophons treatise

desire that ye maye do well. Surely good Socrates, sayd he, that is the beste instrument that can be, to allure and get a mans good wyl withal. Socrat. And whan he beareth you good wyl, good Ischomach. Is he therfore sufficient to be a baylre? For we may see, that al men loue theym selfes, and yet through slouggishenes they be negligent to do those thynges, the which for the moste parte they coueyt right moch to haue, as goodes. Ischo. Ye but whan I wol make suche men as loue me, my bailles and ouer seers of my busynes, I instructe and monishe them before, howe they shuld ouer se euery thynge dyligently. Socrate. Can ye brynge that to passe: For sorthe me thinketh it is vnllykely, that any man coude be taught, to gide an other mans busines a ryght. Isch. In very dede it is impossible good Socrates, to instruct and teach euer man diligently to do it. Socr. And who be they, that ye thinkc mete to be taught & instructed? For that I desyre very greatly to knowe. Ischo. Friste of all they that can not refrain them selfes from dronkennes, are excluded from this care. For dronkennes bringeth in with it forgetfulnes of all maner of thynges, that a man shulde do. Soc. Whether than is it impossyble, but onely

only in them, that can not refrayne them from dronkennes, to make them diligent, or be there any other besyde? Yes mary sayde Ischomachus, and they also that can not refraine them selfe from slepe. Socr. Be there any mo besyde those? Ne thin-
keth, sayde Ischomachus, that they, the whiche do sette theyr myndes soore to the pleasure of the fleshe, that it is impossible to teache them to haue more mynde to any thyng than to that: for they can find no-
ther hope nor study more pleasant to them then of theyr louers. And whanne they haue any thyng to do, it is harde to ima-
gyne a sorer punisshemente, than that is to them to be kept from them they be in loue with. Therfore I let suche maner of men go, nor neuer go about to teache them to be more diligent. Socr. Ye but they, that do set theyr mynd soore to lucre, be not they apte to be taught that diligence, the which shuld be vsed and occupied in your groud? Ischoma. Yes mary they, there can none be soner brought to this diligence. For ye nede no more but only to shewe them, that dilygence is very profitable. Wherfore if I chaunce to haue suche one, I commende hym moch. Soc. And as for other men, the whiche do refrayne them frome suche

f **t**hings

Xenophons treatise

thinges as ye do command, and haue a mes-
tely good mynde towarde lucr, howe do
ye teche them to be as diligent as ye wold
haue them? Ischoma. Mary very well
good Socr. For whan I se them diligent,
I do bothe preye and rewarde them. And
agayne, whanne I see them neglygent and
rechelesse, I both do and say al that euer I
can to anger and vexe them with. Socrat.
Ye but Ischomachus, sauig your tale, that
is of them, that be all redy instructed to be
diligent: tell me this, touching the instruc-
tion of them, whether it be possyble for a
man, that is naturally negligente, to make
other dylygent? Ischo. No by my faith,
no more than he that hath no skil in musike
can make other men musicians. For it is
harde for a scholer to lerne that thing wel,
that his maister teacheth yl. And it is hard
for a seruaunte to vse any diligence, whan
his mayster gryueth hym exaumple of ne-
gligence. And shortly to speake and in ge-
neral, I do not remembre that euer I hard,
that any yllmayster had any good seruans-
tes. Mary this haue I. sene, that a good
diligente mayster by his chastyng of dull
heded seruauntes, hath lyghtly instructed
them. But he that wyll go aboute to make
other dilygent in theyr worke, he most spe-
cially

Diligente
maysters
make good
seruantes.

cially oughte to be a prouident and a ware man, and ouer se and marke theyr workes. And whan there is any thyngewel and diligently done, he muste cunne hym greate thanke that dyd it, and he muste not stycke to punysshē hym shapely, according as he deserueth, that is negligēt in his busynes. And forsooth me thiketh to this purpose it is a ryght goodly aunswere, that the Persian made. For whan the kynge of Perse asked hym, rydynge vpon a ryghte fayre horse, what thing did sonest make an horse fat, he said his maisters eies. Some thinke lyke wise good Socrates, by al other thinges, that the maisters eies mooste specially maketh them to be in farre better plite.

Socrat. But whan ye haue tolde and shewed him very wel, and with great instance, that he muste take hede to suche thynges, as ye wyllhaue hym, and that he is verye dylygent, is he than mete to be your bayly or stewarde, or els must he lerne somwhat besyde to make hym fyt for that purpose? Ischomachus. No I wis man. For it behoueth hym yet to lerne, what he must do, and whan, and howe he shall order euery thyng. For elles what auayleth a baylye or a stewarde more withoute this, than a phisycion, the whiche nyghte and daye,

Si
erly

Xenophons treatise

yarly and late taketh hede to a sycke man,
and yet he woteth not what is profitable
for the same pacient. Socrat. And whan
he knoweth what is to be doone, shall he
nede any thyngel elles, or shall he than be a
perfecte bayly or stewarde? Ischo. Ne
thynketh, that he shulde lerne also to rule
the worke men. Socra. And do ye teache
your bayly or stewarde to be able to rule?
I go about it at leaste, said Ischom. Soc.
And I pray you for goddis sake, howe do
ye teache men to haue the science to rule &
comande? Ischoma. Very easilly good
Socra. in so moch, that I thynke ye shall
laugh at it, whan ye here it. Soc. Forsooth
good Isch. sayd I, it is no matter to laugh
at, but he deserueth and ought rather to be
hyghly lauded, that hath the wit to teache
that. For he that can teache men howe to
rule, he can also make them maisters, and
he that can make them maisters, can make
thē princelyke and able to be kinges. Isch.
Surely al maner of beastes, good Socrat.
do lerne to obey by the reason of these two
chinges, that is to say, whan they do striue
and will not be obeyente, they be punys-
hed: and whan they do quickly that that
a man byddeth them, they be cherisched and
well intreated. Coltes and yonge horses
lerne

lerne to obeye theyr brekers and tamers :
For whan they do obeye theym, they haue
somwhat done to thē for it, that is to their
pleasure and ease : But whan they wyl not
obey, they beate and hādel them very sore
& roughly for it, vntyll the time they serue
the breker at his wyll . And yonge spay-
nells lyke wise, the whiche be worse than
men a greate deale, for lacke of reason, and
for lacke of speche, yet they lerne to ren a-
bout, to fetche or cary, to go into the was-
ter after the same maner . For whan they
obey, they haue somwhat giuen them, that
they haue nede of, and whan they wyl not,
nor care not for it, they be punished. But
as for men they maye be well perswaded &
brought to obedience, if a man wyl shewe
them, howe it shall be for theyr profyte, if
they do obey. Neuertheles vnto bondmen
and vile persons, that way that is vsed and
occupied towardc beastes, wyl very well
induce them for to lerne to obeye. For if
ye do somwhat for theyr bealye, and make
them fare well, ye shall gette very moche
done of them. But ioly stomackes and no-
ble natures be mooste moued and styrred
with prayse. For there be some natures,
that doo desyre as moche laude and prayse
as other do meate and dynke . And whan

Xenopho ns treatise

I haue taught him, that I wil make my bawly or my stewarde, suche thinges, the whiche whan I do them my sylfe, me thynketh I shall make men more obedient vnto me, I do ioyne this vnto it besyde. For as toouchyng hosen and showes, and other rayment, the whiche I muste gyue my labouretors, I make them not alyke. For there be some better and some worse: to the entent that the best workmen may haue the preeminentia to haue the better, and the worst may be giuen to the worste. For me thynketh, it greueth good seruauntes verye soore, whā they se that the worke that they haue done, and how those haue euuen as moch as they, that wyll not labour nor take peyne, whā it behoueth to do it. wherfore nother I my selfe wyl not suffre, that they that be worst, and they that be beste, shulde be serued al a lyke. And whan I se that my bawlies and deputies doth gyue the moste and the best to them that do beste, I do preye him for it. But and I se him prefer any man afore other, because of his flatteryng, or for some other piuisshe cause, I do not suffre it so to passe, but I blame and rebuke him greatly therfore, and I goo about to teache hym also, that that, the whiche he doth, is not for his profit nother. Socrat.

End

And whan he is sufficient thus to rule and
guyde, good Ischomachus, so that he can
make them to obey hym, do ye thynke that
barly perfecte on euery syde, or hathe he
nede of any other thyngc elles? Yes mary,
sayde Ischomachus, for it behoueth hym
to kepe his hādes clene from his maisters
goodes, and beware that he steale nothing
therof. For if he, that hath the fruites in
his handes, wold be so bolde to conuey so
muche out of the waye, that that, whiche
remayned were not suffycyente to mayn-
teyne the worke and fynde the labourers,
what profytte shulde we haue by his baye-
lyshyppe, and by his diligencē? Socrates,
And do you indeede take vpō you to teach
them that iustice and ryghtefulnes? Yes
mary, sayd Ischomachus: but I fynd that
euery manne dothe not obeye and folowe
this teachyngē and instruction of myne.

Neuerthelesse I take here a pece of Dra-
cons lawes, and here a piece of Solons, &
so endeuour my selfe to brynge my seruans-
tes to folowe iustyce. For me thynketh
that these men haue made many lawes to
teache men iustice. For they haue written,
that he muste be punisched that steleth, and
he that robbeth must be put in prison & put
to death. Wherfore it may be clerely sene,

S. iiiii. that

Persiens
lawes.

Xenophons treatise
that they haue wittē those thinges to the
intente that they, the whiche do gette any
goodes foule and shamefully, contrary to
reason and equitie, shuld haue no rantage
nor no profit by it. And whan I haue this
do, I brynge in beside somme lawes of the
kyngē of Perse, to make my seruauntes to
deale rightfully in that they be put to. For
as touchinge Dracons and Solons lawes,
they do no more but punysshe them that do
amysse, but the kyngē of Perse lawes doo
not onely punysshe them that do wronge &
vnjustly, but also thei do them good that be
rightfull and deale iustly. Wherby it appe-
reth, that many, the whiche be very coue-
tous, and care not what they do, soo that
they may wyll, when they se that they, the
whiche be ryghtefull and good, waxe ry-
cher than they, the whiche doo other men
wronge, they continue and prospere well
in this that they do no man wronge. And
whan I perceyue, that any of theym, vnto
the which I haue beinne good and shewed
pleasure vnto them, wyll not leaue, but go
about styll to do wronge and deale vniuste-
ly, than whan I perceyue that he is past al
remedy, I put hym out of his roume, and
wyll not let hym occupre it no more. But
whan I perceyue, that any of them setteth
his

his mynde and courage to be good , a iuste
and a true seruant, and doth it not so moch
bycause they thynke to haue somme vaun-
tage by it, but for the desire that they haue
to please me, & to be praised of me, though
they be bounde men, I vse them as fre me,
and for their ioly freharte, I do not onely
promote them in goodes and ryches, but
also prayse and commende theym as good
and honeste men. For me thynketh that an
honest manne, that is desyrous of honour,
doth differ in this poynte from a couetous
man, that for prayse and honour wyll take
payne and put hym selfe in ieopardy, whan
it is nedefull: and yet kepe him selfe cleane
from foule lucre. And thus whan ye haue
ones ingendred and fastned this affection
in a man, that he oweþ you good wyl, and
bereth you good loue and fauour, and that
ye haue brought hym to this point, that he
wyll applie his mynde and diligence to do
euenaþ ye wold your selfe, and beside that
ye haue gotten him the science, howe eue-
ry worke that is done shal be most profitas-
ble, and made him also sufficient and able to
rule, and that he will beside this bring and
shewe you the fruites of the grounde none
other wise thanne ye wolde to your selfe:
whether nedeth he any thyng els or not, I

ſv

wyl

Xenophons treatise

will speke no more, for me thynketh, that such a man shuld be a very good and a profitable stuarde and deputie. Socra. But I praye you good Ischomachus, doo not leaue behynde that parte, whiche we haue so lyghtly runne ouer. And what is that sayd Ischomachus: Socrates. Mary ye sayde, that the greatest poynte of all was to lerne howe euery thyng shulde be done, to the ende that profyte therby shulde ryse vnto vs, for other wyse ye sayde, that dilygence coulde auarle nothyng, excepte a man knewe what and howe to do. Ischo. Do ye byd me to teache you the science of housbandry? Forsooth it is it, sayde I, that maketh them riche, that can wel occupy it: and they that can not, thoughe they take neuer so moch peine, they liue wretchedly. Ischo. Now than fyrist of all ye shall here howe gentil a science it is. For seynge it is moste profitable and pleasante to occupie, most goodlyest, best beloved of god and of men, and besyde that moste easye to lerne, howe shulde it nat be a ientyll science? For we call al these beastis gentyll, the whiche be goodly, great, and profitable, and be not fierse but tame among men. Socra. But me thynketh, good Ischoma. that I haue very wel perceyued, that where ye sayde, howe

howe a man muste teache a stewarde, and a
deputy, and that ye taught him to owe you
good loue and good wyll, and lyke wyse,
that ye went about to make hym diligent,
able to rule, and also ryghtfull: but where
ye sayde, that he, whiche wil be diligent in
dede in husbādry, must lerne what is to be
done, howe, and in what season, me thyn=
keth we haue ouer passed it some what to
quickely and to negligently. Lyke wyse as
if ye sayd, that he, the which wil write that
that a man speaketh, and rede that that is
written, muste knowe his letters. For he
that did here this, hath harde nothing els,
but that he must lerne to know his letters.
But whan he perceyueth, that he is neuer
the nerer to knowe what letters do meane.
And nowe lyke wise I beleue verye well,
that he, the which wil vse diligence in hus=
bandry, must lerne to know welhusbādry,
but though I beleue and knowe that well,
yet am I neuer the wyser howe to occupy
husbandry. And if I were euен now deter
mined to fal to housbandry, I wold thinke
I were lyke a physcion, the whiche gothe
about and loketh vpon sickē mē, yet can he
not tel what is good for them. And ther=
fore to thend I be not suche one, teche me
the very point and cast ofhusbandry. For
sothe

Xenophons treatise

soþ good Socrates, sayde he, it is not by
this as by other craftes and sciences, that
he which lerneth them must be a long time
about them, and bestowe moch peyne and
labour in them, er he can do any thyng to
get his liuing by. Housebandry is nothing
so harde to lerne: for ye shall lerne it euē
anone loking vpon the labourers, and part
ly by heryng speke of it, so that if ye wyl ye
may teach it vnto other. And truely other
artificers and craftes mē do hide and kepe
priuey to theym selfe the beste poyntes of
theyr sciences, the good housebande men,
he that setteth trees best, he wyl haue ve
ry great pleasure, if any man beholde hym,
and he that soweth after the same maner.
And if ye aske him of any thing that is wel
wroughte, I am sure he wyl never kepe
from you, howe he dyd it. And so good
Socrates, housebandry techeth them that
be conuersant in it to be of genyll maners
and disposition. Socrates. Forsothe this
is a good begynnyng, and nowe I haue
harde you tell this moch, it is vnpossible to
stoppe me from inqueringe of you further
therof. And therfore seinge ye saye it is a
thyng so ease to lerne, do the rather shewe
it me. For it is noo shame to you to teache
that that is easye: but it is rather a greate
shame

Shame to me, if I can it not, specially whan
it is so profitable.

And therfore I wyl shewe vnto you first
of all sayde Ischomachus, that that whys-
che is the diffusest point of al housbandry,
as they say, whiche dispute of it moste ex-
actly in wordes, and in dede occupie it ne-
uer a whit, is nothynge harde at all. For
they say, that he that wyl be a good hous-
bande man, muste fyreste knowe the nature
of the grounde. Socrates. In dede they
seme to say wel: For he that doth not know
what the grounde wyl brynge forthe, I
crowe he can not knowe nother what sede
he shuld lowe, nor what trees is best to set.
Ischomachus. And therfore a man maye
knowe by an other mannes grounde, what
it wyl brynge forthe, and what it will not,
when he seeth both the frutes and also the
trees. And whan he knoweth it ones, it is
not for his profitte to stryue agaynst god
and nature. For if a man doth either sow or
sette that that he hath nede of, he is neuer
the nerer to haue that that is necessary for
him, except the grounde do in a maner de-
lite and take pleasure both to bring it forth
and to norishe it. But if he can not knowe
the goodnes and fertilitie of the grounde
by reason of the idelnes and negligence of
them

Knowlege
of good
grounde.

Xenophons treatise
them that haue it in hande: he shal oftentyme
mes better knowe it by some grounde that
is not farre from it, than of the neyghbour
that dwellethe by it. And althoughe the
grounde be vntilled and vnlaboured, yet it
sheweth his owne nature. For that grouē,
that bereth good wild fruited and wedes,
wyl bring forth, if it be taken hede to, and
well tyld, other good fruited and herbes
as wel as them. So that they that be not al
of the beste seene in housebandry, can well
discerne the nature of the grounde. So-
crates. Forsothe good Ischomachus, I
maye be bolde to byde by this, that a man
nedeth not to absteyne from houfebandry,
for feare leste he knowe not the nature of
the grounde. For I do remembre, that fis-
shers, whiche be alwayes occupied in the
see, the whiche comme not to beholde the
grounde howe it is, nor walke not fayre &
softly, but runne euē through it, whan they
se the fruited on the grounde, they wil not
stycke to shewe their opiniō of the grouē,
whiche is good, and whiche is badde, and
preyse this, and dispreyse that. And I se
they wyl be communyng often times with
men, that can very good skyll in houseban-
dry, and shewe them verye many thynges
touchyng a good ground. Ischomachus.

Where

where than will ye haue me to begyn good
Socrates to declare housbādry vnto you,
lest I reherse somwhat that ye know alre-
dy, for I perceyue, ye be right expert ther
in: Socrates. This me thynketh bothe
profitable and a very gret plesure to lerne,
and also it belongeth specially to a philoso-
pher to knowe, howe I myght, if I wold,
by tyllynge and labourynge the grounde,
haue very moch plenti of barley, rie, whete,
and other corne. Ischomachus. This I
trowe ye knowe well inoughe, that falow-
ynge and stirring of the grounde, helpeth
very moche to the sowynge: Socrates.

Forsoth so I do. Ischoma. And what if we
shulde begynne to falowe and plowe the
grouē in winter? Soc. That were noughe.
For than the erthe shulde be all slimy. Isc.
And what thynke ye in somer? Socrates.
Than it wolde be to harde to plough it.

Ischomachus. Well than we must nedes
begin in the springe of the yere. Socr. Ye
mary, for then it is mooste lykely, that the
grounde openneth and spredeth his owne
strength and vertue aboute, whan it is fa-
lowed and tilled in that tyme. Ischo. Yea
and beside that good Socrates, the yonge
wides turned vp so downe at that tyme, be
as good to the ground as any doungynge:
and

Xenophons treatise

and they be not yet come to that strengthe,
that the seide of them caste adowne canne
growe vp agayne. And I crowe ye knowe
this wel inough, that if the falowinge, and
the tyllinge of the grounde shuld be good,
the grounde must be cleane kepte and deli-
uered from wides, and wel fauourdly hea-
ted and warmed of the son. So. ~~He~~ thin-
keth in very dede it shuld be so. Isch. And
do ye thinke, that that can be better brought
to passe by any other meane, thanne if the
grounde be often times stirred in the som-
mer? Socrates. I knowe very well, that
the wides can never better wyther awaye
and drye vp, nor the grounde be better hea-
ted throughc the heate of the sonne, than
if the grounde be ploughed and stirred in
the middes of sommer, and in the myddes
of the daye. And if any man doo falowe, or
digge the grounde with his owne handes,
is it not clere inough, that he also muste se-
perate asonder the wides fro the ground,
and caste the wides abrode, that they may
drye vp, and turne vp so downe and sty² the
grounde, that the soorennes and the rawe
watrishenes of it may be warmed and wel
dried vp? Ischom. Than ye se well good
Socra howe we be bothe in one opinion,
touchyng falowinge and styrryng of the
grounde.

ground. Socrates. So me thynketh: And touchyng sowing, haue ye any other knowlege or opinion, but that is the season to sowe, the whiche bothe men of olde antyquitie, approuinge it by experiance, and al they, that be nowe, takynge it of them, do judge it baste of all? For whan the sommer is ones past, and Septembre cometh in, all men that be in the worlde do loke vpon almighty god, that whan it shal be his pleasure to sende somme rayne, and make the grounde wete and moystie, that they maie fall to sowynge euern as he commandeth it.

Socrates. And forsooth good Ischoma. all the men in the worlde haue determined by one assente, that they wyl not sowe, whan the ground is drye. And it is clere to euery man, that they take great losses and damages, that wyl goo aboute to sowe afore god byddeth them. Ischomachus. Then in these thinges all we men do agre. Socr. For in that that god teacheth, it foloweth, that euery man agreeth in it: As for a similitude, Euery man thynketh best to weare good furred and well lyned gowes in winter, if he be able, & also to make good fire, if he haue wodde. Ischomachus. Yea but there be many, the whiche do vary in this, touchinge sowinge, whether it be beste to

Xenophons treatise

sowe in the beginninge, in the myddes, or
at the latter ende. Socr. And god dothe
not sende euery yere of one like temperat-
nes of wether. For some tymes it is beste
to sowe in the begynnyng, some tymes in
the myddes, some tymes at the latter end.
Ischomachus. But what thynke ye beste
gentyll Socrates, whanne so euer a manne
hathe chosen his sowynge tyme, or euer
more in this tyme, or nowe in this and now
in that, whether is it beste to sowe moche
seede or lyttel? Socrates. We thinkethe
best of al good Ischomachus, to distribute
the scede, well, full, and trewelye. For I
suppose it is a greattē deale better, to take
corne inough euer more, than some tymes
to moche and some tymes to lyttell. And
in this poynt also good Socrates sayd he,
you beinge the lerner, do agre with me the
teacher, and you haue shewed your opinō
afore me. Socrates. But what of that said
I, for in the castynge of the seede, there is
moche counnyng: Ischomachus. In any
case good Socrates, lette vs loke vpon
that. For we knowe well, that it muste be
caste with a mannes hande. Socrat. For
soth I have sene it done so. Ischomachus.
But some can cast it euyn, and som can not.
Socrates. Wel than it lackethe nothynge
els

els but to exercyse the hande , as harpers
and luters do, that it may folowe the mind.
Ischomachus. It is very well sayde : But
what if the grounde be thinner or grosser?
Socrates. what meane you by that? Do ye
not take the thynner for the weaker , and
the grosser for the stronger? Ischomacus.
That same meane I. Socrates. And this
wolde I sayne knowe of you , whether ye
wyl gyue as moche seede to the tone as to
the tother, or elles whiche of them wil ye
gyue more vnto? Ischo. In the wyne that
is stronge, me thinketh it behoueth to put
the more water, and the man that is stron-
ger must beare the gretter burthen, if ther
be any thyng to be caried, and some men
are fed and nourished with skinder fare,
and the same herin muste be obserued. So-
crates. Thynke you not that the grounde
waxeth stronger, if a man do put more fruit
in it, likewise as moiles and horses do waxe
stronger with carage, that wolde I desire
you to teache me. whan Ischomacus herd
that, he sayd: What Socrates, ye iest with
me. But yet, sayde he, take this for a very
suretye , that whan a manne bathe sowen
any seede in the grounde, luke whanne the
grounde hath moche conforte of the ayre
with wete and morystenes, if the come bee

G. ii. grene

Xenophons treatise

grene newely rySEN out of the erthe, if he
styRE and turne it in ageyne, it is as if it
were a sustinaunce to the ground, and get-
teth as moche strength by it, as if it hadde
ben donged. But if ye suffre the grounde
continually to bring forth fruite of the sede
it is harde for a weake grounde to bryng
forth moche fruite styl, lyke wyse as it is
harde for a weake sowe to gyue sucke and
sustinance to many pigges, and kepe them
fat and in good plite whan they ware gret.
Socrates. Ye say good Ischomac. that ye
must sowe lesse sede on a weaker grounde.
Ischo. So I do in dede good Socra. and
ye also did graunt it vnto me a lyttel afore,
whan ye said, that ye thought that the wea-
kest shuld be least charged. Socr. But for
what reason good Ischomac. do ye make
diches in the corne fieldes? Ischoma. Ye
wotte well, that in wynter are many show-
ers. Socra. what therof? Ischomachus.
Many therof chaunce many hurtes: for a
gret part of the field is surrounded with
water, and the corne couered in mud, and
the rootes of moche of the corne ar worne
and washed away with the water, and fur-
ther often times by reason of the great a-
bundance of water, there cometh moche
wides and other harlotry, that suppresseth
and

and destroyeth the corne. Socrates. It is
lyke inough, that all this shuld be. Ischo.
And thynke ye than, that the corne beinge
in that takynge, hath not neede to be holpe?
Socra. Yes mary. Ischomachus. Than if
the corne be couered with mud, what shal
we do to helpe it? Socrates. Mary ease
the grounde and make it lyghter. Ischo.
But what if the rootes be waxed thyn and
almoste worne away? Socrates. Than ye
muste cast to more erthe, that it maye take
roote and growe agayne. Ischoma. But
what if the wides and other harlotry suck
uppe the moysture from the corne, lyke as
the drone bees, the whiche beinge theym
selfes vnpofitable, do robbe away and eate
vp the bees vitayles, that they had set vp
for to worke with? Socrates. Mary the
wides and harlotrye muste be pluckte and
cut away, lyke wyse as the drone bees are
voided out of the huies. Ischoma. Thinke
you than that we do not make the dyches
& sloughes in the fieldes for a good cause?
Socrates. Forsothe so it is, but I thynke
nowe in my mynde good Ischoma. what a
thynge it is to bryng in similitudes & like-
nesses. For ye haue moued me more a gret
deale, and made me more displeased agaist
these wides, whan ye spake of the droone

Gill bees,

Xenophons treatise

bees, than whan ye speake of the wides the selfes. But nowe after this sayde I, har=uest season myl come, wherfore I pray you tell me, if ye haue any thyng to teache me in this matter. Ischoma. So I wyll if ye do not shewe your selfe, that ye know it as well as I. This ones ye know, that the corne must alway be reaped. Socr. What els? Ischom. whether than must ye stand to reap it with the wynde, or agaynste the wynde? Socrates. Not agaynst the wind, for it wolde be a great peyne, as I thinke, both for the eies and also for the hādes, to reap agaynste the cares blowen downe with the wynde. Ischoma. And howe wyll ye cutte it, at the very toppes, or euen by the grounde? Socrates. If the stalke be short, I wyll cut it alowe, that there maye be strawe inough: But if it be very hye, I thynke better to cutte it in the myddell, to thentent that neither the threshers nor the fanners, shal take more peyne in vayne thā nedeth, and that that remayneth, I thynke if it be burned, it wyldo the grounde very moch good, and if it be laid with the dōge, it wylfyl and encrese it. Ischomacus. Do ye see nowe frende Socrates, how ye be taken in the very deede doynge, that ye knowe as well as I, what longeth to rea=pynges?

To reap
corne.

prnge: Socrates. In saythe I em aferde,
lest it be soo in dede: And nowe wyl I se
lyke wryse, whether I can threshe or not.

Ischomachus. This ye knowe well, that
horses do threshe corne. Socr. why shuld
I not, and not onely horses, but also moy-
les, and oxen lykwyse: Ischomachus. But ^{To the g̃e} cozne,

howe canne these beastes stampe well and
threshe the corne euuen as they shuld good

Socrates? Socrates. It is clere, that it is
by the reason of theym, whyche haue the
charge of the thresshynge. For they do e-
uermore turne and stir and put vnder their
fete that that is vnthressed, and soo they
must nedes make it euuen, and make an ende
of it as quycely as may be. Ischomachus.

Than as for thys busynes, ye knowe it as
wel as I. Socrates. Now after this good
Ischomachus, let vs clense the corne and
wynnowe it. Ischomachus. Tell me than
good Socrates, do ye knowe this, that if
ye beginne to wynnowe it in that part of the
wynwynge place, where the wynde is a-
gaynst you, that the chaffe wyl be scattered
abrode throughe al the winowinge place?

Soc. It muste nedes. Isch. Than it muste
nedes as wel fal vpon the corne. So. Ver-
ly it is no small poyn to make the chaffe to
go beyonde the corne in a vorde roume of

Xenophons treatise

the winowynge place: But if a man begyn to winowe vnder the wind, or a syde halfe of it, than it is clere, that all the chaffe will voyde to the place that is ordyned for it. Ischomachus. But whan ye haue clensed the corne euyn to the myddell of the wynowynge place, whether than, the corne beinge thus scattered abrode, wyll ye wynowe the remanant, or wyll ye put fyrist together on a heape as narowely as can be al that euer is cleane? Socrates. Forsothe I wyll fyriste put to gether on a heape al that is cleane, lest parauenture the chaffe be carried about the wynowynge place, wherby I shoulde be fayne to wynowe twyse one thyng. Ischomachus. Howe than gentyl Socrates, ye may teache an other man, if ye wyll, howe he shall sonest get his corne clensed. Socrates. In good saythe I had almost forgot, that I coude all this a gret whyle ago. And nowe I cast in my minde, whether I haue forgotten my selfe, that I can play on the harpe, playe vppon recorders, peynte, and carue, and other sciencies. For there was neuer man, that taught me these no more than to be a housebande man. And I see as well other men work in theyr sciencies as housebande men laboure the grounde. Ischomachus. And dyd not

I telyou but a litel afore, that this science
ofhousebandry is wonders pleasaunte and
very easy to lerne: Socrates. I knowe ves-
ry well good Ischomachus, that I vnder-
stode and coude all maner of thynges, that
do longe to sowynge, but I haue forgotten
my selfe, that I coude theym. But the set-
tyng of trees sayde I, is that any point of *Settyng
housebandry: Ischomachus. Yes mary. of trees.*

Socrates. Howe happeneth than, that I
knewe well all suche thynges as longe to
earynge and sowynge, and am ignoraunte
in that that longeth to plantinge of trees:
Ischomachus. Be ye ignoraunte in dede:
Socrates. I must nedes be, seing I know
not in what grounde a man shulde set a tre,
nor howe depe, nor of what lengthe, nor
what breade it be sette in, nor whan it is in
the grounde, howe it shal beste grove and
come vppe. Ischoma. Wel than lerne that
that ye knowe not. I am sure ye haue sene,
what pittes they make for trees that do set
them: Socrates. That I haue very many
tymes. Ischoma. And dyd ye never se any
of them deeper then thre fote: Socrates.
No mary I, nor yet deeper than two fote &
ahalfe. Ischoma. And as for the brede did
you euer se any broder than thre fote: So-
cates. Forsooth & god, I never sawe none

Xenophons treatise

past two fote and a halfe brode. Isch. Now aunswere me this agayn, Dyd ye euer sea-ny of lesse altitude than two fote? Soc. In very dede I never sawe none of lesse alty-
tude than two foote and a halfe. For if the
plantes were but shalowe sette they wold
sone be wrythed vp. Ischomac. Than it is
apparant inough to you good Socrates,
that they dygge the pyttes to set in trees,
no dyper than two fote and a halfe, nor no
broder than two fote and a halfe. Socr. It
muste nedes be so, seinge it is so clere. Isc.
But touchyng the grounde, do ye knowe
whiche is dry and whiche is wete, if ye se it
Socrates. ~~He~~ thinketh the ground, that
lyeth about Licabectus, or any other that
is lyke vnto it, is drye grounde: And that
is called a wete grounde, the whiche lyeth
about Phalericus, full of maris all about,
and any other lyke vnto it. Isch. Whether
than wyll ye dygge vp a depe pitte to set in
trees in the drye grounde or in the wete?
Socra. In the dry ground verily. For if ye
shuld make a dype pyt in the wete ground,
ye shulde fynde water: and than ye coulde
not set it in the water. Ischoma. ~~He~~ thyn-
keth ye say very well. And whan the pittes
be dygged vp, ye know what trees be mete
for bothe groundes. Socrates. Very wel
Ischo.

Ischo. And if ye wolde that the tree, whiche ye do sette, shulde growe and come vp well fauourdly, whether thynde ye it wyll better springe and wax mighty and strong, if ye sette vnderneath the erthe that hathe ben labored and occupied afore, oreles suche as hath ben alway vnoccupied? Socrates. It is clere inoughe sayd I, that it wyll growe and come vpp better by the reason of the erthe occupied, than of the grounde vnoccupied. Ischoma. Then there muste some erthe be put vnderneath. Soc. Why shuld it not? Isch. But whether thynde ye, that the vyne braunche, the whiche ye sette, wil gether rotes better, if ye sette it streyghte vpryght, or if ye sette it crooked vnder the ground, so that it be lyke this greke letter, γ , turned vp set downe? Soc. Mary euene so. For than there shall be the more rootes in the erthe, wherby the plant shall stande the faster, and so many the mo braunches shal spryng v. Ischoma. Wel than in this matter wee haue bothe one opinion. But whether wyl ye no more but cast the erthe to the plant that ye set, oreles wil ye treade τ raine it harde downe? So. Forsooth I wil treade τ stampe it harde to. for els it were ioperdy, lest the raine wold lightly perce in, and so rotte and marre the rotes, oreles

the

Xenophons treatise

the sonne dryinge the erthe away from the
rootes of the plante, shulde lewse and vna-
fasten it, and so kyl it. Isch. wei than good
Socrates, we be bothe of one opinion tou-
chynge settynge of vines. Socrates. And
shal I sette a fygge tree after the same ma-
nere Ischoma. Yes I trowe, and all other
trees lyke wylle. For if ye can sette vynes
well, what other settynge is there but that
ye may take it vpon you lyke wise? Sogra.
But howe shulde we set olyue trees good
Ischomachus? I pray you proue afore a-
ny thyng, whether I can any skylle ther-
in. Ischo. Ye se how there is a good depe-
pytte digged for an olyue tree, I wote wel
ye coude not chose but se it, seinge they be
digged euyn by the highe waies syde. Also
ye se howe the very stockes of the olyues
be sette in the settynge place. And farther
ye se how there is clay laide vpon the top-
pes of them: And how of all trees that be
planted, there are none couered aboue, but
onely the same. Socrates. All this I se
well Ischomach. And whan ye se it, what
shulde be the let, that ye shulde not knowe
it: excepte paradynture ye canne not tell
howe to clappe a shell fast to the clay, that
is set on the coppe therof? Socrates. By
my faythe, of all this that ye haue spoken,
there

there is nothyng but I knowe it. And nowe I caste in my mynde agayne, what is the cause, that whan ye asked me but a lytell afore in generall, whether I coude set trees, I sayd no. For me thought I coude not tell, howe a man shuld sette trees. But after ye begannen to enquire of me euerye thyng by it selfe, I aunswered you accordanlyng to your mynde, and to your own opinion, the whiche is called the moste perfecte houseband man, that is nowe at this day aliue. Is not my chaunce good Isch. sayde I, askinge a maner of teching? For I haue lerned and canne well nowe euerye thyng by it selfe, what so euer ye haue demanded of me. For ye leade me by suche thynges, as I am skilled in and vnderstād, vnto suche thynges as I perceyued not: and soo ye perswade and make me belue, that I knowe them as well as the tother. Ischomachus. Well, thynke ye, that if I asked you after the same maner, touchinge siluer or golde, whiche is good and whiche is badde, that I coude perswade you, that ye be a good finer of golde and siluer? And agayne, I coude not perswade you, if I asked you neuer so moch, that ye canne playe vpon recorders, or that ye can peint, or do any suche thynges. Socras. Paradyngenture

Xenophons treatise

uenture yes. For ye haue perswaded me,
that I haue well the science of houseban-
dry: and yet I knowe well, that there was
neuer any body, that taught me that sciēce.
Ischomācus. It is not so good Socrates:
For I haue tolde you a praty whyle agoo,
that housbandry is so pleasante and soo fa-
myliar a science, that they, the whiche doo
eyther se it, or here tel of it, be euē by and
by wel lerned in it. And also it sheweth ma-
ny thynges it selfe for a man to ierne, howe
to order it beste. For euē at the fyre the
vine, the whiche crepereth vpon the trees, if
there be any neere hande, sheweth, that it
woulde be holpen vppē and susteined. And
whanne it spredeth abrode his leaues and
braunches, the grapes beinge yet but very
tender, it shewethe, that in that season, it
woulde haue shadowe made there vnto it,
where as the heate of the sonne lyeth sore
vpon it. And whan it is tyme for the gra-
pes to war rype and swete, the whiche is
caused onely by heate of the sonne, it let-
teth the leaues falle, to teache the house-
band men, that it woulde be lyghtned and
eased, that the fruite mate the better war-
ype. And whan that by the reason it hath
brought forth moch fruite, and some ar ri-
pe and some not, it sheweth, that those clou-
sters,

sters that be ripe, must be gathered, like as
on fygge trees they must be taken downe,
that be ripe and redy to be gathered. So-
cates. Howe can this be, good Ischomas-
chus, if housebanchry be so easy to lerne, &
euery man knoweth what is to be done, as
well one as an other, that they haue not a
lyuinge by it all a lyke? For some haue gret
plenty and lyue welthylye, and other some
haue scantily so moche as they nede, and be
in dette to other men? Ischomachus. Ma-
ry I wyl tell you good Socrates, it is no-
ther the knowlege nor lacke of knowlege
of housebande menne, that makethe some
of theim ryche and some poore. For ye shal
not lyghtly here suche a tale go about, that
suche a mannes house is vndoone, bycause
he hath not sowed euuen: or bycause that he
hath not well sette or planted his trees: or
bycause he knewe not what grounde was
good for vines, he hath set his in a naugh-
ty grounde: or bycause he knewe not, that
it was good to falowe the grounde before
he dydde sowe it: or bycause he knewe not,
that it was good to dounge it. But this ye
may here often tymes very wel. This man
getteth no crop on his grounde this yere.
For he hath made no prouisyon to gette it
sowed, or to get it dounged. And agayne:

This

Xenophons treatise

This man getteth no wync. For he nother careth to plante any vines in his grounde, nor seeth no thyng to those that be alredy planted, to make them bryng forthe some fruite. This man hath no oyle. This man hath no fygges: For he wyll take no peyn nor apply his minde to haue any. These be the causes good Socrates, that make one housebande man to differ from an other, & to be also vnylike in substance and in riches, a great deale more, than yf any of theym seemed to be experter in his workes and busynesses. And of the capitaynes of war lyke wyse, there be many, the which haue egally good wytte and very good syghte in suche thynges as do longe to warre, and yet there be some of theym better and somme worse, and that is through the diuersity of takynge hede and of dilygence. For suche thynges as all capytaynes do knowe, and also the mooste parte of theym, that were never in that dignitie, some capytaynes do the and some not. As thus. Al they know, that it is better for them, that shall leade an armye throughe theyr ennemyes lande, to marche forwarde in good order and array: that they may be alway redy to fyghte, yf nede be. And yet some of them that knowe this very wel, do it, and some do not. Also all

Also all they knowe, that it is best to kepe
watches and scoutwatches both by nyght
and by daye: And yet some of them se well
to, that it be surely kepte, and some do not.
Agayne, whanne they leade theyr armye
throughe narrowe places, ye shal al moste
fynde none, but that he knoweth, it is bet-
ter to preuente theyr ennemyes be tymes
than to late. And yet some of the do their
diligence, that they maye so do, and some
do not. And lyke wyse of doungynge. Eue-
ry man saith, it is very good and necessary
for the grounde to dunge it. And they se,
howe men maye haue it bothe of beastes in
his owne kynde, and also finde other mea-
nes to haue it, and make easly a very gret
deale therof. And yet some take hede, that
it be gethered, and some lette it passe, and
care not for it. Yet god sendeth rayne from
aboue, and all maner of holowe grounde
receyuethe it, and kepereth it, and waxeth a
pouddell with it. The grounde bryngeth
forth all maner of wydes and naughty har-
lotry. And he that wyll sowe, muste fyre
rydde and purge the grounde, and suche
wydes and thinges as he gethereth out of
the lande, if he caste them into the water,
in proces of tyme, it woll be as good, and
as holosome to the grounde, as any doun-

113 gynge.

Xenophons treatise

gyng. For what wydes be there, or what
grounde is it, that wyll not become donge
in very dede, if it be caste in to standyng
water? More ouer what remedy is there,
if the grounde be to weete to sowe in it, or
to soure to set trees in it? Every man knos
weth, that the water muste be vorded out
by makyng of dytches and sloughes pour-
posely therfore: and howe the sounenes is
minished and mitigated, if al maner of thins-
ges, the whych be not soure, whether they
be drye or wete, be myngled therewith.
And some housebandes take good hede to
this, and some regarde it not. But if a man
knowe never a whit, what the ground wyll
bryng forth, nor can se nother fruit nor tre
in it, nor speke with no man, that shall tell
hym the trouth of it: is it not farre a great
deale easyer to haue a proffe of it, than ey-
ther of a hors or a man? For that that it shew-
eth, it is not shewed falsely and colorably
but tilled, it sheweth the very trouth, with-
out any fayninge, what it can brynge forth,
and what not. And forsothe me thynketh,
that the grounde doth best examine, whiche
be good, and whiche be vnthryfty housebā-
des, in that that it setteth forth al maner of
thyngs so easy to be lerned, and so soone to
be knowen. For it is not in housbādry as it
is

is in other craftes, that they, the whiche
do not worke, may excuse them selfes, and
say, that they can not skyl to do it: but euer
ry man knoweth, that if the ground be wel
sylled & housebandly haddeled, it sheweth vs
pleasure agayn for it. And surely houseban-
dry is it, that beste moneth a mans vnlusty
corage and sluggishe disposition. For there
is no man can perswade hym selfe, that a
man can lyue without suche thynges as be
necessary. But he that hath no sciēce, wher
by he maye gette his lyuyng, nor wyl not
fal to housebandry: it is clere, he is eyther
a starte foole, orclis he purposeth to gette
his lyuyng by robbynge and stelyng, or-
clis by beggyng. More ouer, sayde he, it
made gretly to the matter, concerning the
gettyng or losynge by housebandry, that
whan they haue many laborers and seruā-
tes, that the tone taketh good hede, that
his worke men be set to their worke in due
season and tyme, and the tother dothe not.
For that man is better than ten other, that
falleth to his worke in season. And that man
is farre worse than an other, the which suf-
freth his workemen to leane their worke
and go theyr way ouer tymely. And as for
betwene hym, that suffreth his worke men
and labourers to tryfyll awaye the daye,

H. ii. and

Xenophons treatise

and hym that wyll not, there is as greatte
difference, as betwene the holle worke fi-
nished and the hafle of it: Lykewyse as in
iourneyng by the way in fyftr myle space,
two men, whiche go bothe one waye, and
thoughe they be bothe as swyfte, as hole,
as yonge, and as lusty, the tone as the to-
ther: yet the tone shall ouer go the tother
xxv. myle in a day, if the tone goth on his
iourney lustyly, and the tother for slouthe
and cherisshyringe of hym selfe, resteth by
the way, besydes springes and fountaines,
and seketh for shadowes and softe windes
to refresh hym with. Lyke wyse in wor-
kynge there is greate oddes, whan a man
dothe applye lustyly his worke, and whan
he dothe not, and rather fyndeth excuses,
why he shulde not worke, and suffereth his
folke every daye to trifle forth the tyme.
And as for to worke well and diligently,
or to worke naught and negligently, there
is as greate dyfference betwene these two
thynges, as is betwene hym that worketh
and hym that worketh never a whytte. For
whan they go about to clese the vines frō
wydes and harlotry, if they digge in such
wyse that therby growe vp mo and great-
ter wiges than didde before, why maye it
not be laid, that they were idle & wrought
neuer

neuer a whytte. And therfore these be the chynges, by the whiche many mens householdes be a great deale rather vndone, thā for lacke of science or of great knowledge. For a man that is at great costes and charges in his house, and can not gette as moche, nother by his rentes, nor by his housebandry, as wyll fynde hym and his meynyn, it is no maruayle, if in the stede of greate plenty and riches, he fall into extreme povertie. But vnto such men as wyll dylygently apply them selfe to housebandry, and increase theyr substance, and shortly waxe riche therby, my father shewed some tyme a good precepte, the whiche also he caught vnto me. He counsayled me, that I shulde neuer bye that ground, the whiche hath benne well laboured and tyllid, but such a grounde, as remayned vnlaboured and vntilled, either through theyr neglygence, that owed it, or elles bycause they were not able to do it. For the ground that is well tyllid and dyght, wyll coste moche more money, and yet it is than euuen at the beste: And the grounde, that can waxe no better, can not make a man to haue so moche pleasure, and to reioyce so moche, as the tother doth, whiche waxeth better and better. For he thought, that all maner of

Xenophons treatise
goodes, whether it be lande or cattell, the
whyche do encrease and waxe better, caus-
seth a man to haue more pleasure and ioye
in it. And there is nothyng, that increas-
seth more than doth that grounde, the whi-
che laye before vntylled and vndyght, and
nowe is waxed good and frutefull. And be
ye sure of this good Socra. that we haue
often tymes made moche lande, that we
haue boughte, a greatte deale more worth
than the price that it was bought for at the
fyre. And this caste, that is not so nota-
ble, & so profitable, is so easy to lerne, that
nowe ye haue ones harde it: ye canne it as
well as I, and maye teache it vnto other,
if ye lyste. But as for my father, he never
lerned it of none other man, nor never spēt
great study to fynde it oute: But bycause
his mynd was greatly set vpon houseban-
dry, and also he had a pleasure to laboure,
he sayd, he desyred to haue suche a grouē,
that both he myght haue somewhat to do,
and also that the profytte commynge of it,
might reioyce him. For me thinketh good
Socrates, that of al the Atheniens, my fa-
thers minde was mooste set vpon housban-
dry, euen of his owne nature. Socrates.
And whan I hard that, I asked him: whe-
ther dyd your father kepe styl to hym self

any

any of it, if he coulde get moche money for
it: Ischomachus. Yes mary, he did sel som
of it nowe and than: & immediately after he
wolde bye an other piece, that lay vntilled
and vndyghte, bycause his mynde was so
moche set to laboure and to housebandrye.
Socrates. For sothe good Ischomachus,
ye shewe me here a maruaylous desire and
affection, that your father hadde to house-
bandry, none otherwise as me thynkethe,
than some marchauntes myndes be set vp-
on wheate. For marchaunte men by the
reason that they: hartes is sore fixed vpon
wheate, where so euer they here that ther
is moste wheate, thyther wyll they in anye
wyse resorte, and wyll not stycke for daun-
ger to passe any see what so euer it be. And
whan they haue bought vp as moche ther
of as they can get, they shyp it in the selfe
same shyppe, that they sayle in them selfe,
and so bryng it home. And whan they haue
nede of money, I trowe they do not sel it a
way rasshely, not carynge in what place, as
though they desyred to be lightly dispat-
ched therof: but they brynge it thyther to
sell, where they here, that wheate is at a
great price, and where as men wolde very
fayne haue it. Ischo. Wel Socrat. ye ieste
with me: but yet me thinketh he loueth the

Xenophons treatise

masons crafte neuer the worse, that buyls
deth houses and selleth them, and maketh
newe agayne afterwarde. Socrates. By
my faythe I swere to you good Ischoma.
I beleue you very well, in that ye thynke,
that euery manne loueth beste, and setteth
his mynde moste vpon that thyng, wher-
by he thynkethe to gette any gret profyt.
But nowe I consyder in my mynde, howe
well al your communication hath serued to
the purpose and grounde of this matter.
For youre grounde and begynnyng was,
that the science of housebandry is sooneste
and best lerned of all other sciences: And
now by the reasō of that that ye haue said,
I am vtterly perswaded, that it is so. For-
sothe sayde Ischomachus, it is so in verye
dede. But as for that thyng that is egally
common to all mens dedes, whether it be
in the exercyse of housebandrye, or in the
orderynge of an house, or in the gouerning
of a citie, or in the knowledge and science
offeates of warre, I graunt you very wel,
that there be somme men, that haue a farre
better wytte, a farre better caste and poli-
cy, and knowe better howe to rule and cō-
maunde, than somme cther doo. Lye as
in a galeyn whan they be on the se, and must
dryue as farre with oores in a daye as they
shoulde

Thulde sayle, there be some, that be sette to
comforde and courage them, the whiche
haue so good grace bothe in their wordes
and in theyr dedes, that they so quickē and
encourage men, that they laboure with all
theyr verye hartes. And there be other
some so grosse and so rude, that they wyll
be twyse as longe in makyng of theyr vi-
age, as the tother were. And as for the to-
ther, they come downe russhyng meryly,
sweatynge and preyng one an other.
And as for these felowes they come down
layserly, and they never swcate for the mat-
ter, they hate the mayster of the galey, and
he agayn hateth them. And after the same
maner there be some Capytaynes, that do
differ one from an other. For there be som,
that can not bryng it to passe, to make their
souldiours gladde to take peine, nor to put
them selfe in ieopardy, but euen very than
whā they cā not chose, but they wil rather
bost them selfe, and take it for a gret preise,
that they maye contrarye the Capytaynes
mynde, nor the capitaynes can not instruct
them to be asshamed, if any thynge misfor-
tune, that is worthy of rebuke. But there
be other, whiche be good, wyse, and pol-
tyke capytaynes, the which if they take in
hande the selfe same men, or paraduenture

Xenophons treatise

other, as they do often tymes, they wyl
make them to be ashamed to do any thyng,
that shoulde turne to theyr rebuke, and to
thyneke that it is beste for theym, both to be
obediente euery one of them by him selfe,
and whanne nede requireth to take peyne,
gladdely to do it all to gether with a verye
good wyl. And lykewyse as there be some
privyate men, the whyche of theyr own na-
ture, be gladde to take laboure and peyne,
so a good capitayne engendreth this affe-
ction in all his hostis mynde, that they be
gladde to be put to peyne, and they coueyt
nothyng els so moche, as to be preised for
some greattre and notable acte, done in the
syght of theyr capitaine. And what so euer
capitaynes they be, that haue such men of
warre vnder theym, beryng to them ward
so good mynde and fauour, I saye they in
very dede be myghty and stronge: and not
they, the whyche haue a great mighty bo-
dy, and can throwe a darte, and shote very
well: Nor they that haue good horses, and
can ruine with a speare and iuste afore any
man: but they that can brynge theyr soudi-
ours in to suche affection and beleue, that
they wolde gladly folowe theym through
fyre and water, and throughe all maner of
daunger. Suche men maye well be called
hardy

hardy and valyaunte, that haue soo manye
boldē men redy and presto to do what soo
euer they commaunde. And it may well be
sayde, that he goth forward with a mygh-
ty stronge hande, that hath soo many han-
des folowyng hym ready at his pleasure.
And he maye be called a very greatte man
in dede, the whiche doth very great actes,
more by prudence and wysedome, thanne
throughe the strength of his body. More
ouer, whether he be a debytie or a ruler,
that can make men redy and gladde to ap-
plye theyr worke, and bryngē them to con-
tynue well in it, they be those, that shal so-
nestē gette goodes, and growe to greatte
substaunce. And as for the mayster, if he be
suche a man, that can well punyshe the la-
bourers, that do nought, and reward them
that do very well, yet whan he cometh to
the workes, if the labourers do make noo
shewe of it, I wyll not set greatly by hym:
but he, the whiche whan they do se hym,
they be all moued and stirred vp, and haue
a gret courage and desire one to do better
than an other, and a feruente mynde to be
preysed aboucial, I say, that that man hath
somme thyngē of the disposition longyngē
to a kynge. And me thynkethe it is a very
great poynt in al maner of thinges, that be
done

Xenophons treatise
done by the helpe of men , as well as it is
in housebandry. And to obteyne it, verily
I wyll not saye, as I haue dooen in houses-
bandry , that a man shall lerne it, if he ones
seeth it, or hereth it tolde. But I saye, he
that wyll be able to do it, hadde nede to be
very well instructe, and eke to be of a good
gentyll nature, and that is mooste of al, to
haue a very great grace and gyfte of god.
For me thynketh, this grace cometh not
all of man, to rule and gouerne so, that men
very gladly wyl be obedient, but it is ra-
ther a speciall gyfte of almyghty god:
and graunteh it vnto them that be
indowed with vertue and tem-
peraunce. But to rule men
tyrānously agaynst their
wylles , he putteth
them vnto it (as
me semeth)
that he
ingeth worthy, as they say, that
Tantalus dryueth forthe
the tyme in helle, be-
inge alwaye aferd
to dye twise.

F I N I S.

LONDINI in ædibus Tho-
mæ Bertheleti typis
impress.

CVM PRIVILEGIO
Ad imprimendum
solum.

ANNO. M. D. XLIII.